NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
10 cents
Vol. 6, No. 22 NEW YORK, N. Y., MARCH 22, 1954

THE BASIC ISSUE IS THE ISM — NOT THE MAN

The real forces behind McCarthyism

The GUARDIAN will refrain from rounding up the past week's news with regard to the McCarthy-Cohn-Schine-Army affair, assuming its readers are already familiar with this well-publicized story.

The facts given below about the nature and connections of McCarthy's backing are vital to any deeper understanding of the menace of McCarthyism.

By Tabitha Petran

WHAT emerges most significantly from the Army-McCarthy exchange in the Schine Affair is the identity of morals, goals—and, with but minor variations, methods—of all parties concerned:

- Army Secy. Stevens, if unwilling to assign Pvt. Schine to study "pro-communist leanings in West Point textbooks," was eager to have him "report his observations" on "communist infiltration" in the Army.
- The solicitude of McCarthy aide Roy Cohn for Schine's comfort was matched by Army counsel Adams' interest in a $25,000-a-year law partnership.
- Democratic Sen. Symington's determination to hunt reds "the American way"—by Vice-President Nixon's pledge "to shoot straight at red rats."
- McCarthy's 45-minute "cordial" visit with Bernard Baruch, "adviser to Presidents"—by Defense Secy. Wilson's lunch with McCarthy to get his advice on dealing with "communists" in the service (the Senator favors concentration camps).

The lid was briefly lifted on the preoccupations of the "saviors of the free world." McCarthy was for the moment put on the defensive. The Administration was forced into a stronger stand against sin, Democrats inspired to battle against McCarthy's "methods." But all this was due not to any real differences among them but to what Ernest K. Lindley called (**Newsweek, 3/18**)

> ". . . the tidal wave of angry disgust that swept over Washington . . . one of the highest in the experience of living observers . . . [which has] shaken the aplomb and calculations of a good many politicians."

THIS tidal wave can become a powerful force to reverse Washington's war program, with its attendant creeping fascism at home, if the forces it opposes are understood; or it can wash itself away in debates over "methods" and popular delusions. (See The Spectator, p. 12.)

In the **Nation** (3/6), Carey McWilliams punctured the delusions that McCarthyism is a matter of methods, for

> ". . . it is impossible to conduct a successful heresy hunt without using his methods . . . He can never be effectively opposed by those who have granted is major premise.

Equally dangerous is the delusion that McCarthy and McCarthyism represent an independent power and policy, backed by an independent, extremist group of Texas oil barons and newly-rich

(Continued on Page 4)

Hey, wake up, General—they're coming!
The photo-agency caption says this is a picture of Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway (l.) Army Chief of Staff, and Air Force Secy. Harold Talbott as they testified before a Senate Appropriations subcommittee (that's the money crowd) that "the 'Soviet menace' is undiminished."

THE STORY OF THE PERESS FAMILY

What happens to the victims of a McCarthy headline smear

By Elmer Bendiner

SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY made headlines with a witness' name—and in an ordinarily peaceful New York suburb, three rocks crashed through a window and scattered glass fragments over a child's bed.

The witness was Dr. Irving Peress, a dentist, until recently a Major in the U. S. Army, who stood up to the Senator and asserted his rights under the Fifth Amendment. The community torn apart by the Senator's abuse is Middle Village; the repercussions have brought anti-Semitism to a boil, pitted neighbors against each other, brought panic to some and to others an unaccustomed courage.

THE PERESS FAMILY
April (l.) Mrs. Elaine Peress and Jill

"MAY PEACE BE LASTING": The Peress home, 61-39 79th St., Elmhurst, is a modest two-story brick house, attached on both sides in a street of similar houses, a neighborhood of similar streets. Mrs. Elaine Peress, a trim, slightly-built woman with a quick, bright smile, has always been a community woman, easily making friends out of neighbors, serving coffee at the ring of a doorbell, taking up neighborhood causes such as a new Brownie group or a better Parent-Teacher Assn. at P.S. 49, where her daughters go to school. She has two: April, 8, and Jill, 6.

(Continued on Page 10)

THIS WEEK'S HIGHLIGHTS IN THE GUARDIAN

D. N. PRITT ON THE SOBELL CASE
Noted British barrister's keen analysis.........p. 6
ALBERT EINSTEIN ANSWERS 5 QUESTIONS
Scientist charts a civil liberties course..........p. 3
CEDRIC BELFRAGE REVIEWS 2 NEW BOOKS
The lives of a Quaker and an Anarchist.........p. 8
MUDDY POLITICS AT THE RACE TRACKS
Part II of the N.Y. Corruption series..........p. 9
THE SPECTATOR ON EDWARD R. MURROW
A provocative view of the telecast............p. 12

NEXT WEEK: WHAT ABOUT TAXES? VICTOR PERLO TAKES A LOOK AT THE PLANS AND WHAT THEY DO

WASHINGTON

Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska: The facts, figures and frauds

By Lawrence Emery

FOR years most of the people of Hawaii and Alaska have been eager and ready for statehood and an overwhelming majority on the mainland have favored their admission to the Union (last January the Gallup poll showed a 10-1 U. S. majority in favor of Hawaii, an even greater one for Alaska). Since 1903 Hawaii has petitioned Congress for statehood 17 times; in the last 32 years 38 statehood bills affecting one or both territories have been introduced in Congress. Always they have been defeated, and always by forces led by Congressmen from the South. The progressive **Honolulu Record** wrote in 1953:

> "Statehood for Hawaii has been blocked by racists and reactionaries time and again. Hawaii continues on a semi-colonial status with her

(Continued on Page 3)

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7 N Y.
Telephone: WOrth 4-3960.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $3 a year. All other countries $4 a year. First class and air mail rates on request. Single copies 10c. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE, *Editor* — JOHN T McMANUS, *General Manager* — JAMES ARONSON, *Executive Editor*

ELMER BENDINER, Editor of New York Section. TABITHA PETRAN, World Analysis. LAWRENCE EMERY, National Affairs. EUGENE GORDON, Civil Liberties & Negro Affairs. KUMAR GOSHAL, World Affairs. IONE KRAMER, Features for Living. ROBERT JOYCE, Art Editor. ROBERT E. LIGHT, Advertising & Buying Service. GEORGE EVANS, Promotion & Circulation. TIBA G. WILLNER, Los Angeles representative, 949 Schumacher Dr. WEbster 1-9478.

Vol. 6, No. 22 178 MARCH 22, 1954

HAVE YOU RE-NEWED ?
RJ

If your address-plate on p. 1 (reverse of this box) is printed in red, your sub is in arrears and is due for renewal NOW.

TO RENEW, CLIP THIS BOX, MAIL WITH $3 FOR ONE YEAR

- **Be sure to check your address-plate on page 1 for errors before enclosing. Indicate if you want your paper wrapped. Enclose $3 and mail to:**

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

THE MAIL BAG

Unflattering

NEW YORK, N. Y.

This sagacious observation by Walter Lippmann (N. Y. Herald Tribune, 3/1) is worth keeping vividly in mind: "Though it is not flattering to the human race, it is true that there is always a crowd which is impressed by and will follow a man who makes himself feared. That is how McCarthy's influence has grown as the President has appeased him."

A. Garcia Diaz

Call it kidnaping

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

If that fine man and fighter, Emanuel Bloch, had not died, the New York City Welfare group would not have dared to kidnap the Rosenberg boys. Why can't it be prosecuted under the Lindbergh Act and sent to the gas chamber? Both children and foster-parents objected to the kidnaping. By stressing the word kidnaping, we will anger them furiously. Let's do it with a will.

W. F. C.

Mind inflammation

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.

NATL. GUARDIAN, your June, 1953 issue has only just come to our attention. But it is not too late to condemn the policy of any periodical so emotionally keyed to inflame the immature minds of our nation.

It requires very little child psychology to place your technique in dealing with the immaturely developed mind, particularly Jewish and Slavic.

If you followed the Rosenberg case in detail . . . YOU KNOW THEY WERE GUILTY . . . of passing on secrets to Russia. That they may not have been guilty of ALL of which they were accused does not free them of treason. It is defenses like yours that encourage the McCarthy's of our era and subject really great minds to public disapproval. It is not a worthy occupation.

Mrs. Mildred W. White (A.D.A.)

How crazy can you get in Boston?

BOSTON, Feb. 24—The majority of workers are just "good-natured slobs," William E. Eastman, personnel director of the John Hancock Insurance Co. told a conference here. "Thousands resist promotions because they don't want to be lifted out of a rut," he said.

—Labor (Washington, D. C.), Feb. 27.

BOSTON, March 2 (UP)—The Boston Post, in a front page editorial, said today the United States should "go to war" to save the the Vatican and the State of Israel from seizure by Communist Russia.

—Paterson (N. J.) Eve. News, Mar. 3.

One year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Sender of first item in this week's Boston doubleheader: Paul Emerson, Spokane, Wash. Sender of second item did not identify himself.

Nicer with Molotov

DES MOINES, IOWA

After hearing the radio news we wonder just what it will take to teach some people in our country that the U.S. is NOT the world, and the people here NOT all they will have to fool before they can carry out their plan. Dulles at Caracas may be like what Drew Pearson predicted—that he would wish he was back in Berlin with Molotov before he got through. It is fine to see little Guatemala standing up to the big U.S., and we hope some of the others might get a bit more courage.

Will our country ever learn to be scientific in our human relationships? How we need a lot of John Deweys to sound the warning that a country cannot survive that uses all scientific knowledge in its material development, but refuses to be scientific in human relations. Thank you for your efforts toward helping us all to be scientific.

Mary E. Cassill

The debt is to Wells

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I have sent this letter to Gov. Knight of California:

"I fervently plead with you to spare the life of Wesley Robert Wells and grant him freedom. Considering the long years of his imprisonment and inhuman treatment, Mr. Wells does not owe a 'debt'—either of his life, or of any part of it—to the State of California. Rather, if anything, California owes him a considerable debt."

Carol Nathanson

Times' Sucker Edition

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The following item appeared in the March 4 N. Y. Times in an inconspicuous place:

WASHINGTON, March 3 (AP)—Mr. Lodge also said "if anybody sucked anybody into the Korean war, it was the United States which sucked the United Nations, and quite rightly."

Gradually the truth, like murder, will out. Mr. Lodge has given away the game.

Africanus

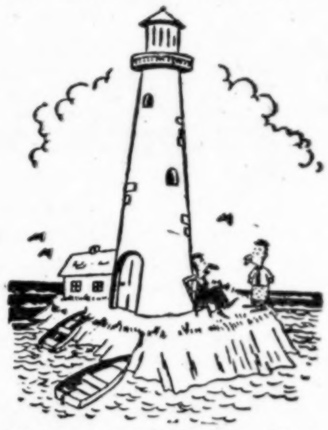
Even the inconspicuous place was too painful for the Times; the above item, which appeared as a "shirt-tail" to a UP story on UN, was dropped altogether in later editions. This is not an uncommon practice in the Times, which prides itself as being a "newspaper of record" with "all the news fit to print." Mr. Lodge's comments apparently fit into the half-printable category. Ed.

Of time and shoe leather

ST. PAUL, MINN.

The GUARDIAN reminds me of Oscar Ameringer's American Guardian; I would like to take it, but am already financially loaded with several subversive, communistic, anti-religious and, worst of all, pro-peace periodicals. Then there is the matter of time and shoe leather. I go about like a postman, only I never put anything into mailboxes. Just poke them under doors.

Roger Frohn



Wallace's Farmer & Iowa Homestead

"After two years of drought, I decided to give up farming and try something else."

How about The Madwoman?

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Congratulations on the expanded GUARDIAN. I was particularly pleased to see the addition of "The Spectator" column. I hope this will be continued as a regular coverage of cultural events. I must, however, register a dissent to the Spectator's review of off-Broadway plays. He omitted the Actor's Mobile Theatre production of The Madwoman of Chaillot. Content-wise this was possibly the best of the season's offerings, presenting a definite anti-war, pro-human point of view. As the GUARDIAN noted, the production and acting were remarkable for a cast that included only three professionals and for the physical limitations of a small theater.

Herbert Crosswaithe

Where 2 or 3 gather

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Every American who believes that heresy trials have no place in our nation must help in the Rev. Claude Williams' fight to reverse the heresy decision against him. I am confident this case will finally be resolved on the side of intellectual, spiritual and economic freedom, despite the darkness in which our nation seems to be enshrouded.

Almost 100 years ago, Abraham Lincoln and his law partner called the first meeting of the new Republican Party in Springfield, Ill. When they reached the State House, site of the meeting, they found only one person in attendance. Lincoln said, "This meeting is larger than I knew it would be. I knew that Herndon and myself would come, but I did not know that anyone else would be here; and yet another has come—you, John Pain. These are sad times and seem out of joint. All seems dead, dead, dead; but the age is not dead; it liveth as surely as our Maker liveth. Under all this seeming want of life and motion, the world does move nevertheless. Be hopeful. Let us adjourn and appeal to the people."

So I too say to Claude Williams and his friends: "Be hopeful. Let us adjourn and appeal to the people."

Vito Marcantonio

A few friends of Claude Williams are issuing an urgent appeal for funds for his defense and to make known the nature of his "heresy"—taking the Carpenter's words too seriously. The smallest contributions would be welcomed by Cedric Belfrage (Williams Fund), Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7.

The truth at home

ELYRIA, OHIO

Appeals are being made over the air for donations to the Crusade for Freedom to tell the truth behind the iron curtain. I am not sending my dollar for that, but I will give two dollars or more to have the truth told right here at home. Here it is.

Old Timer

Anti-nausea

BALTIMORE, MD.

The GUARDIAN is the only paper I can read at the present time without getting nauseated. The letters to your staff I appreciate most of all; it shows how many people are not being fooled by the present-day propaganda.

L. Keck

Nicaraguan godsend

BLUEFIELDS, NICARAGUA

The GUARDIAN has been a godsend to us. Without it, we would know nothing of the progressive movement and the fight going on over the world to preserve our freedom.

Angela Hedgson

EARLY THIS MONTH SEVERAL THOUSAND "SPARKPLUG" SUBSCRIBERS RECEIVED A SPECIAL LETTER FROM US. IF YOU RECEIVED ONE AND HAVE NOT YET RESPONDED, PLEASE DIG IT OUT, READ IT OVER, AND LET US HAVE YOUR ANSWER IMMEDIATELY IN THE POSTAGE-PAID ENVELOPE INCLUDED WITH THE LETTER.—The Editors.

THE OATH

(To the Attorney-General of the United States)

To you, dear sir, I send these words,
Swiftly urgent—winged as birds.
May you read when day is done,
At your suite in Washington.

I swear that I have seen the light,
And put all knowledge from my sight.
Wisdom, like a female spy,
Tried to lure—but I was sly!

I swear that all the things I've learned
From the books that should be burned
Will be purged to ease my mind—
Leaving nothing there to find.

I swear that I have never been
Related to my kith and kin.
I've never had, as you will find,
Associations of any kind.

I swear that in my reckless youth,
I never dared to seek the Truth.
If you, dear sir, will merely bid,
I'll make a list of those who did.

I swear that I have always tried
To recognize the buttered side.
Whatever may be said of me,
I know my opportunity.

I swear that I will always dread
The mention of the color red.
I'll tint the ever rising flood
With the blueness of my blood.

I swear that God so loved the world
He made us with our flag unfurled:
He stuck a musket in our hand . . .
"Give 'em hell!" was His command.

I swear that when our Jesus died,
He told His Father that He lied—
That He regretted (with a sigh)
The fib about the needle's eye.

I swear to be devoid of will:
I'm the vessel that you fill.
Though once it may have took a man,
Today I am American!

W. A.
Illinois, 1954

(Reprinted from the New Statesman and Nation, London)

EVERY READER GETS A READER

The 50th thousand is just as easy

ONE THOUSAND new subscribers have joined the GUARDIAN readership thus far this month in our campaign for $1 introductory subs.

Have YOU signed up someone yet?

The odds are 50-1 that you haven't—because if you had, we could report a gain of 50,000 instead of just 1,000.

SOMEWHERE—right in your list of personal telephone numbers, on the job with you, in the P. T. A., among your neighbors, your summer vacation friends, in your political activity—there is at least one person who could, should and would be getting the GUARDIAN if YOU would take the initiative.

WILL YOU TAKE THE INITIATIVE, today, this week? Call a friend, tag somebody at lunch, buttonhole the next guy you hear cussing McCarthy or wishing business was better; the GUARDIAN has information right up his alley.

Let's make March, 1954, the month when it finally came true—that every reader actually GOT a reader!

THE EDITORS

ONE BUCK for honest news!

NAME (please print) ....

STREET ....

CITY .... ZONE .... STATE ....

SENDER ....

☐ Please send wrapped.

Mail with $1 for 6 months to:

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

A HUMANIST SCIENTIST REACHES THE AGE OF 75

Albert Einstein answers 5 questions

On March 13 in Princeton, N. J., some 200 educators, ministers, writers and scientists gathered in a conference under the auspices of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to honor Albert Einstein's 75th birthday. The famed scientist himself did not attend the conference but he submitted his written answers to five questions relating to academic freedom and political inquisitions. In them he reiterated his advice to intellectuals "to refuse to cooperate in any undertaking that violates the constitutional rights of the individual" and suggested creation of a fund to provide legal counsel and other assistance to those who risk their livelihood in defying witch-hunting investigations. The conference adopted the Einstein proposals "as a program, intact, to fight the Inquisition," and planned a large meeting in New York City in May to put it into effect.

A young physicist pledged $100 a year to the fund and said: "It's about what you'd pay for life insurance and I feel that's what this is."

Dr. Corliss Lamont warned the conference: "We must disagree drastically and forever [with those who would] limit civil liberties only to those who agree with them. Civil liberties are indivisible."

Other speakers included Dr. John Somerville, lecture at Cornell and Harvard, and Dr. Dirk Struik, mathematician suspended from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Dr. Einstein declined a proposal that a delegation bring flowers to him and was quoted as saying: "You may bring flowers to my door when the last witch-hunter is silenced, but not before."

Following are his answers to the five questions:

What is the essential nature of academic freedom and why is it necessary for the pursuit of truth?

By academic freedom I understand the right to search for truth and to publish and teach what one holds to be true. This right implies also a duty: one must not conceal any part of what one has recognized to be true. It is evident that any restriction of academic freedom acts in such a way as to hamper the dissemination of knowledge among the people and thereby impedes rational judgment and action.

What threats to academic freedom do you see at this time?

The threat to academic freedom in our time must be seen in the fact that, because of the alleged external danger to our country, freedom of teaching, mutual exchange of opinions, and freedom of press and other media of communication are encroached upon or obstructed. This is done by creating a situation in which people feel their economic positions endangered. Consequently, more and more people avoid expressing their opinion freely, even in their private social life. This is a state of affairs which a democratic government cannot survive in the long run.

What in your view are the particular responsibilities of a citizen at this time in the defense of our traditional freedoms as expressed in our Bill of Rights?

The strength of the Constitution lies entirely in the determination of each citizen to defend it. Only if every single citizen feels duty bound to do his share in this defense are the constitutional rights secure. Thus, a duty is imposed on everyone which no one must evade, notwithstanding the risks and dangers for him and his family.

What in your opinion are the special obligations of an intellectual in a democratic society?

In principle, everybody is equally involved in defending the constitutional rights. The "intellectuals" in the widest sense of the word are, however, in a special position since they have, thanks to their special training, a particularly strong influence on the formation of public opinion. This is the reason why those who are about to lead us toward an authoritarian government are particularly concerned with intimidating and muzzling that group. It is therefore in the present situation especially important for the intellectuals to do their duty. I see this duty in refusing to cooperate in any undertaking that violates the constitutional rights of the individual. This holds in particular for all inquisitions that are concerned with the private life and the political affiliations of the citizens. Whoever cooperates in such a case becomes an accessory to acts of violation or invalidation of the Constitution.

What in your opinion is the best way to help the victims of political inquisitions?

It is important for the defense of civil rights that assistance be given to the victims of this defense who in the above-mentioned inquisitions have refused to testify, and beyond that to all those who through these inquisitions have suffered material loss in any way. In particular, it will be necessary to provide legal counsel and to find work for them.

This requires money, the collection and use of which should be put into the hands of a small organization, under the supervision of persons known to be trustworthy. This organization should be in contact with all groups concerned with the preservation of civil rights. In this way it should be possible to solve this important problem without setting up another expensive fund-raising machinery.

THEY CAME TO HONOR EINSTEIN AND TALK FOR AMERICA
(L. to r.): Harvey O'Connor, Dr. Mary Van Kleek, Prof. Dirk Struik, Prof. Barrows Dunham

---

Hawaii & Alaska

(Continued from page 1)

people taxed without representation.

"The [Dixiecrats], who are elected by denying Negroes and poor whites franchise, who are determined to deny equality to 16,000,000 American Negroes, are alarmed that the white people do not occupy a 'superior' position here as they do in the anti-democratic South. These racists are horrified that 40% of the population here is comprised of people of Japanese descent. They don't want to take the chance of admitting this Territory into the Union because non-whites play an active part in politics here and turn out the vote . . . The extension of democracy anywhere threatens the white supremacy in the South and no Dixiecrat would stomach the idea of having even one non-white member of Congress from Hawaii."

WRONG DESCENT: Last week the statehood debate was on in the Senate again. Again Dixiecrats were ready to filibuster it to death if they can. Last Dec. 22 Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) said:

> "It may be necessary to talk for days and this the South must do . . . [If Hawaii sent two Senators to Washington] there would be two votes for socialized medicine, two votes for the government ownership of industry, two votes against all racial segregation, and two votes against the South on all social matters."

In 1951, during a similar debate, Sen. Tom Connally (D-Tex.) said:

> "I think I am a better American than a great many people who live in Hawaii. I have been out in Hawaii. The majority of people out there are not of American descent."

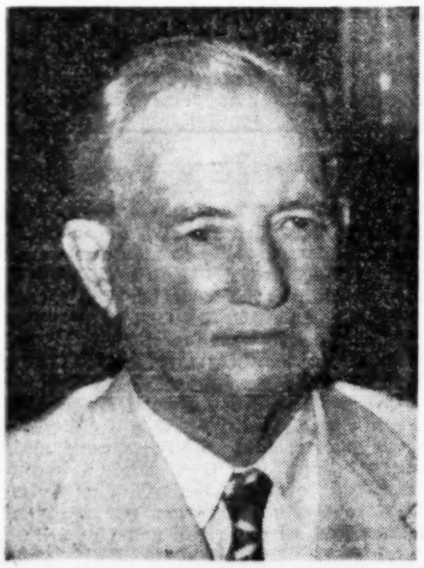
THE KREMLIN: In little more than 24 hours Honolulu residents raised enough money to send a delegation of five decorated veterans of World War II and a Gold Star mother to Washington to protest this slur, and to remind the Texas Senator it was Hawaii's famed 442nd Regiment that rescued the Lost Battalion of the 36th Texas Divn. in Italy.

This year opponents of Hawaii statehood have, in addition to their racial arguments, a new one: Hawaii is a communist menace. Said Eastland as debate opened on March 4:

> "If Hawaii were added as a 49th state, she could not be a sovereign state because of the vast influence and control which Moscow would exert upon her elected representatives through Communist control of the labor movement in the Islands."

THE BIG HOAX: This argument was effectively answered last December in Hawaii by Delbert E. Metzger, former federal judge forced out of his position because he set reasonable bail for Hawaii's Smith Act victims and upheld witch-hunt victims' right to invoke the Fifth Amendment. A Democrat, he was asked to resign from the Hawaii Statehood Commission (he is the senior member) by its Republican chairman because "Senators unfriendly to the cause of statehood were using your membership on the commission as an argument against statehood." Said Metzger:

> "For me to resign to appease uneasy local Republican politicians and those members of Congress who use the false charge of Communist influence in Hawaii as an excuse to stall Hawaiian statehood would injure, not help, the statehood cause.
>
> "[The charge is] a hoax—a hoax primarily built up by spokesmen for the Republican Party of Hawaii to suppress political opposition and to gain votes for Republicans. . . .
>
> "I propose that the commission adopt the forthright position that Hawaii is entitled to statehood as a matter of right; that Hawaii is America's show-window of racial democracy. The commission must bring home to the U. S. Congress that its denial of self-determination to the people of Hawaii is inconsistent with its claim to world leadership based upon democracy and racial equality."



JUDGE DELBERT METZGER
". . . the charge is a hoax. . . ."

PACKAGE BURIAL: The statehood issue is not only beclouded by white supremacists and the fake issue of communism, but by extreme partisan politics. Hawaii traditionally votes Republican, Alaska Democratic. The Eisenhower strategy was to push for Hawaii statehood now, defer that for Alaska indefinitely. Democratic leaders, in a series of parliamentary moves, succeeded in wrapping both in one package. But many believe that forcing a vote on both will defeat both: Senators opposed to statehood for either voted enthusiastically for the combined bill. Debate now has been temporarily postponed; when it comes up again a filibuster is in prospect with ten Dixiecrats listed to speak.

The world saw a spectacle of the U. S. denying representation to its own people because of the color of their skin and maintaining its own brand of colonialism. As the Honolulu **Record** has pointed out, Hawaii's half-million population pays about $100,000,000 a year in federal income tax, receives in federal grants about $10,000,000 a year:

> "The Territorial budget for two years is far below the amount of taxes people here pay yearly to the federal government. Territorial agencies are forced to scrimp on their budget, and the people suffer. If this isn't U. S. colonialism, what is?"

A
GUARDIAN
RECORD
SIDE 1
NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 17 MURRAY ST., N. Y. 7, N. Y.

CBS's Ed Murrow says:

Talk up to Joe now!

Help retire McCarthy from public life with

FIFTH AMENDMENT FORUM

National Guardian's 40-minute LP record for home-playing

You will hear:

DAVID REIN, noted constitutional lawyer on fight to save the Bill of Rights.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE and JAMES ARONSON, Guardian editors, on their ordeal before McCarthy.

KUMAR GOSHAL, Guardian associate editor, and questions and answers from Guardian Forum. Stirring music beginning and end.

ORDERS FILLED IMMEDIATELY

Enclose payment—$1—with order

Guardian Records 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7

The real forces behind McCarthyism

(Continued from page 1)

adventurers. In fact, the same handful of long-established ruling financial groups which made Eisenhower President have sponsored McCarthy's drive for power. Both Eisenhower and McCarthy are necessary to maintain and carry through the war program of these groups. The role of each in performing this task differs: McCarthy leads the advance detachment preparing the ground which the Administration then occupies. In this way, yesterday's extremism becomes today's respectability. But the program—the Rockfeller-DuPont-Morgan-Mellon program—remains the same.

What this outcry against McCarthy means of itself for the future of American liberties may be apparent in the very names of Nixon, who obliquely chided him for the Administration, and Mundt, the Senator who would head McCarthy's committee if McCarthy had to be put on one side. "Mundt-Nixon" is a familiar combination of names to all liberals and progressives: these men now emerging as "moderates" were the very ones who sponsored in Congress the original bill that became law as the McCarran Act.

THE economic royalists' program is meeting setbacks all over the world, including the U.S.; and they have so far found it impossible to organize behind any one leader, as did the German magnates in 1932. They want McCarthy to succeed; if he does, he will fill their bill. But if he is stopped or slowed by popular opposition, they will try someone else. In this time of frustration, tactical maneuverability is all-important to the ruling financial groups. That is why Mellon's Alcoa sponsored Ed Murrow's anti-McCarthy broadcast. If need be, the economic royalists will turn up also on the anti-McCarthy side. The history of American reform movements shows how well-versed the ruling groups are in controlling both sides of an issue.

But McCarthyism is by no means finished, and "McCarthyism is not likely to go away regardless of what happens to McCarthy" (James Reston, N.Y. Times, 3/7). A closer look at his main financial backers will reveal how directly he is the creature of the ruling financial groups, and how far-flung and incestuous is the intertwining of their economic and political control.

THE THREADS: McCarthy's Texas oil kings, on inspection, turn out generally to be small-scale finance capitalists tied by myriad threads to the nation's top financial groups; dependent upon them, and in some cases their agents in their secondary enterprises. Richest are the billion-dollar trio: H. L. Hunt, Hugh Roy Cullen, Clint W. Murchison.

Cullen, a Dixiecrat backer in 1948, and Hunt are both Republicans who originally supported MacArthur, backed Eisenhower in 1952 and a host of reactionary Congresmen. Hunt is financial angel of the anti-Semitic, tax-exempt, unfactual Facts Forum which peddles McCarthyism to a claimed 22 TV and 360 radio stations.

Murchison, a Democrat who began giving money to McCarthy in 1950, is rated his "closest friend" among the oil barons. He recently boasted:

> "Hell, I've got 10 men in Congress that are better thought of than McCarthy. I don't need him for influence. I like Joe because he's doing a good job" (N.Y. **Post**, 7/17/53).

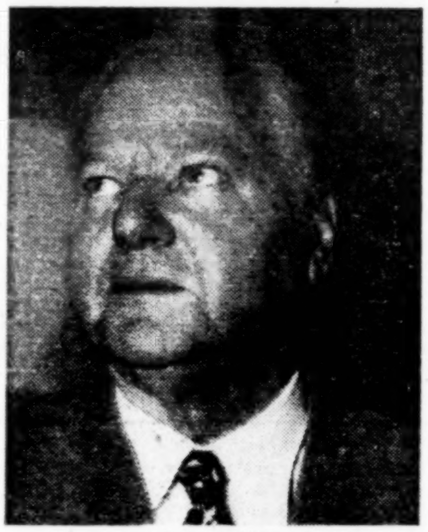
His close friend and business associate, Sid W. Richardson, another oil baron and a power in the Texas Democratic machine, disclaims support for McCarthy because

> ". . . I don't see how I could be friendly with Sam Rayburn and Lyndon Johnson [Democratic minority leaders in House and Senate] and be friendly with McCarthy too" (Washington **Post**, 2/18).

ONE GOOD TURN. . . : Murchison, Richardson, and their good friend George E. Allen, "jester to Presidents" (and long associated with Victor Emanuel enterprises, which are backed by the international Schroeder banking interests formerly involving the Dulles brothers), tried in 1951 to get Eisenhower to run on the Democratic ticket. Richardson and Allen visited the General in Paris to this end.

Later, Texas Democratic Governor Allan Shivers, a McCarthy admirer and close friend of Hunt (to whom Shivers recently turned over 100,000 acres of tidelands oil at $6 an acre), came into the act. With him and another Texas Democrat, Robert Anderson, Richardson and Murchison organized "Democrats for Eisenhower," swung the state to the General. Anderson—a key figure in Texas finance, oil, and agriculture, and a director of Rockefeller's American Petroleum Institute—represents the merging of Wall St. and Southern capital. Eisenhower named him Secy. of the Navy, now Defense Under-Secy.

THE CLEVELAND GROUP: Working with this group for Eisenhower was another friend and business associate, Texas-born Robert Young—now fighting to win control of Morgan's N.Y. Central RR. The power behind Young for many years has been Cyrus Eaton, himself a power in the so-called Cleveland financial group, who got his start with John D. Rockefeller Sr. The Standard Oil trust had its origin in Cleveland, a factor in the character of the Cleveland group. Eaton, who succeeded Young as head of the Chesapeake & Ohio RR last January, recently sold 800,000 shares of C & O's stock in N.Y. Central to Murchison and Richardson for 20 million, thus permitting the stock (which the Interstate Commerce Commission had ruled C & O couldn't vote) to be voted for Young.



H. L. HUNT

A forum without facts

Described by **Fortune** (1/53) as "addicted to operating with other people's money," Murchison has been involved in several deals on credit with Young's Alleghany Corp.; with Young he controls Seattle's American Mail Line. To complete this particular circle, Allen is a director of Eaton's Steep Rock Mining Corp. and of Republic Steel, which Eaton organized.

These lines into the Cleveland financial group barely scratch the surface of the oil kings' connections. Just how independent these oil men are can be seen in the case of Murchison, who has had less success than the rest in hiding his business operations from the public. This "big-wheeler dealer from Dallas" **(Fortune)** is a small-scale finance capitalist operating in gas, oil, insurance, banking, ranching, shipping, transportation and other enterprises. His chief interests are his wholly-owned Delhi Oil Co., and its affiliate Taylor Oil & Gas, in which he has a substantial interest.

TAYLOR AND DELHI: Taylor Oil & Gas is the former Petroleum Heat & Power Co., 18% of whose stock is owned by Rockefeller's Standard Oil of Indiana. (The Chicago financial group is also represented in Indiana Standard.) Taylor's board of directors includes G. M. Forgan, of Glore & Forgan, leading investment bankers of the Chicago group, and F. M. Forbes, of Cabot, Cabot & Forbes, and the Boston State St. Trust, heart of the Boston financial group. Taylor in turn owns a 28% interest in Kirby Petroleum Co., in which the Pew Sun Oil interests are also involved.

Delhi Oil's registrar and transfer agents are two Chicago and two Dallas banks, which suggest the financial interests with which Murchison operates. The Chicago banks are dominated by the Chicago financial group, with the Pure Oil Co. (controlled by the Dawes family of Chicago and with some Pew interest) prominent in one. The Dallas banks are First Natl. and Republic Natl.

HERE'S ROCKEFELLER: Following the lines further, we find that First Natl.'s chairman is a director of the Texas Co. (Rockefeller with some Chicago interest). Represented on its board are, among others: the Schoellkopf family of Buffalo, the Continental Bus System (Morgan-Chicago) in which Murchison has a substantial interest; the Pews; and the Amerada Petroleum Corp., a Dillon-Read firm. Both Morgans and Rockefellers sit on the board of Dillon Read, one of the top investment banking houses.

Dillon Read's representative in First National (through Amerada) is Ernest de Golyer, "angel" of the **Saturday Review of Literature**. De Golyer was recently reported to be Murchison's partner in oil concessions in Spain.

SMALL BUT BIG: De Golyer & MacNaughton is Texas' largest oil exploration firm. Lewis MacNaughton is a director of the Republic Natl. Bank of Dallas, the second Dallas bank through which Delhi Oil does business. Also represented in this bank are Rockefeller's Socony Vacuum, the Morgan-controlled Texas Power & Light, and the Republic Natural Gas Co. The latter is controlled by De Golyer & MacNaughton and Youngstown Sheet & Tube, which was organized by Cyrus Eaton and in which he still has an interest.

DeGolyer is also a director of the Empire Trust Co., "a small bank operating in the big time" (**Journal of Commerce**), embracing Dillon-Read and Hearst mining interests. De Golyer, Amerada, and the Empire Trust are dominant in the Louisiana Land & Exploration Co., which leases to the Texas Co. (Rockefeller-Chicago) and to Humble Oil, biggest subsidiary of Standard Oil of N.J.

HANDSOMELY KILLED: Dillon Read made what **Fortune** (12/49) called "a handsome killing" when it bought the Big Inch and Little Inch pipelines from the government after World War II, parlaying a $150,000 cash investment into a paper value of almost $10 million. Dillon Read organized the pipelines as the Texas Eastern Transmission Corp. Texas Eastern's board is made up of de Golyer, the Browns of the Brown-Root engineering firm, and George A. Butler of Jesse Jones' law firm Butler, Binion, Rice & Cook. This firm handles Jones' huge banking, insurance and industrial enterprises which are connected through interlocking directorates with the Mellon oil interests, the Texas Co., the Pure Oil Co., and also have ties to Standard Oil.

CYRUS EATON

Workin' on the railroad

Murchison's Delhi Oil recently sold Texas Eastern gas-well properties with the right to reacquire a one-half interest; the two companies are further engaged in a joint venture to develop gas reserves in eight S. Texas counties.

GAS UNLIMITED: So much for this "independent"—who so clearly operates in the secondary levels of the Rockefeller, Chicago and Cleveland financial groups. (The Chicago and Cleveland groups themselves have only relative independence, being junior partners to Wall St. even in their own bailiwicks.) What is known of the other oil barons' enterprises suggests a similar pattern.

Richardson, through his partner Perry Bass, appears to share ownership with Texas Eastern of a Southwest Texas gas pipeline. He is a director of Texas Pacific Coal & Oil, along with a vice-pres. of the Dillon-Read Empire Trust, a partner of Lehman Brothers (who is associated with the Rockefellers in Monterey Oil), and a director of another big gas pipeline, Tennessee Gas Transmission Co. (who is also a director of Dallas' First Natl. Bank). Richardson shares ownership of a big Texas hotel with his powerful friend publisher Amon Carter, director of American Airlines.

Cullen is a director of the Second Natl. Bank of Houston, in which are represented Morgan's Continental Oil and the Pew oil interests. He is a vice-pres. of Mid-Continent Oil & Gas Assn. of which Anderson was a director until he entered the government.

IT'S LOGICAL: McCarthy's rise to power began when the Big Money turned to him in 1950, coincident with his attempt to make the State Dept. the scapegoat of the Korean defeat and to exploit popular dislike of the war.

That these very same financial groups staffed the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, control the GOP and the leadership of the Democratic Party, underlines the fact that McCarthyism is the logical development of their policies, reaching a new phase. It also points to the fact that these policies will have to be fought for what they are—the program of the top financial groups—in whatever guise presented, and whatever happens to McCarthy.

Time grows short for Wesley Wells

"IT IS hereby predicted that Gov. Goodwin J. Knight will commute the death sentence imposed on Wesley Robert Wells to life imprisonment."

Thus wrote Los Angeles **Daily News** political editor Leslie E. Claypool on March 12. He based his prediction on "the studious attention which the governor and his office have given the case and to the growing interest which prominent citizens are manifesting."

Wells has been sentenced to death for injuring a prison guard with a cuspidor.

"Prominent citizens" recently named in the doomed man's behalf, in addition to the **News** editors, are 450 clergy and laymen of So. California's Presbyterian churches. They have asked Gov. Knight to set aside Wells' death sentence. Others are the Democratic Central Committees of L.A. and Sacramento counties; the latter last week called in person to ask Gov. Knight to "temper justice with mercy." Oakland's Democratic Assemblyman Francis Dunn Jr. has added his support.

Unless the Governor acts, Wells will die in San Quentin April 9.

Claypool credits "many persons and organizations" for Gov. Kight's being "disposed toward leniency." The Wells Defense Committee urges no letup in letters and wires to the governor.

Address: Gov. Goodwin J. Knight, State Capitol, Sacramento, Calif.

THE SMITH ACT TRIALS

Minister head of St. Louis CRC testifies for government at trial there; revealed as 8-year stoolpigeon for FBI

By Eugene Gordon

ST. LOUIS' Smith Act trial of five Communists ended its first phase March 8 when the government presented a star "surprise" witness and then rested. The witness was the Rev. Obadiah Jones, Negro pastor of Mt. Tabor Baptist Church and chairman of the St. Louis Civil Rights Congress.

Defendants Dorothy and James Forest, Marcus ("Al") Murphy, Robert Manewitz and William Sentner had gone on trial Feb. 1. The day before, the defense had lost a motion to discharge the entire jury panel because it had only a token number of workers and discriminated against Negroes, and a fair trial would be impossible by the "notoriously biased" American Legion, Chamber of Commerce and Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers members on the panel. Defense atty. Sidney Berger had pointed out that two government lawyers lived in the same house as a panel member, who also was chummy with an FBI agent associated with the prosecution; and that some prospective jurors were members of companies Sentner had helped unionize. Two Negroes, a waiter and a government clerk, were on the panel with sales managers, utilities engineers, dept. store vice-presidents, bankers, corporation secretaries. The government clerk was included on the jury.

11,722 SILVER PIECES: The "surprise" witness was known to St. Louis' Negro and progressive white communities as the minister who had held CRC meetings in his church, welcomed there Negro and white women who had gone to Georgia in behalf of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram, received for the church a $50 collection from a Paul Robeson concert. Women and men who had called him brother listened in strained silence to a courtroom colloquy which ended:

> Defense atty. Mary Kaufman: "Now, will you tell the jury who Mrs. Ingram is?"
>
> Rev. Obadiah Jones: "Just a name, Rosa Lee Ingram, that's all."

His former friends learned that since 1946 he had received "various kinds of assistance from members of the Communist Party, the Civil Rights Congress, and other progressives, these things including clothing for his nine children and outright gifts of money"; that he gave all their names to the FBI, receiving in exchange an eight-years total of $11,722.83 from the FBI "for services" and "expenses." He was not sure whether he had given the FBI the names of friends who gave blood for his wife when ill.

MISFIRED REVOLUTION: These were some of Jones' answers to questions on Marxism and Communist teaching:

> Q. "What did they teach you about the Negro people in the U.S. being a nation?"

THE FIVE DEFENDANTS IN THE ST. LOUIS SMITH ACT TRIAL

William Sentner, Robert Manewitz, Marcus A. Murphy, James Forest, Dorothy Forest

> A. "They said a nation has a common language. The capitalists do not let the Negro people go to school to get an education, they said, so the Negro people have a common language."
>
> Q. "What books or pamphlets have you read by Marx?"
>
> A. "The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." (Written by Soviet scholars, edited by Stalin, published in the 1930's.)

Jones was equally ignorant of subjects he supposedly studied in "Communist schools." The judge at one point hid his face behind his hand and laughed at Jones' inventions. Asked why he knew so little after studying so hard, Jones said "this conglomeration of stuff" interested him much less than the question when "the revolution" would break. He said he was told it was due in 1948; he did not explain what delayed it.

A BIBLE LESSON: "Al" Murphy, a Negro, former organizer of Alabama sharecroppers, as his own attorney cross-examined Jones:

> "Do you consider the $11,000 a form of answer to your prayer?"
>
> "I didn't pray for the $11,000. I worked for it."
>
> "Can you identify this passage from the Bible: 'Ye cannot serve God and Mammon'?"
>
> "Well, I'm not sure."
>
> "But it's in the Bible, and you said one reason you didn't read Marxist literature was that you were busy reading the Bible."
>
> "Well, I believe in all the Bible, and if that's in it, I believe it."

Murphy asked who was responsible for Christ's death. Jones didn't know. Murphy asked:

> "Wasn't it caused by the betrayal of an informer?"
>
> "The Holy Bible doesn't say. You got that from a Communist bible.
>
> "Are you, Mr. Witness, not playing the same role as Judas?"
>
> Jones shouted: "I deny that!"

(CRC exec. secy. William L. Patterson recalled in New York that the Baptist denomination among the Negro people had fought for their liberation since the days of such ardent members of that church as Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth. He did not doubt that "the great National Baptist Convention" would deal properly with "this traitor." Patterson has referred facts in the case to J. Pius Barbour, editor of the **Baptist Voice**, Chester, Pa., with its approximately 4,000,000 U.S. Negro readers.)

DETROIT CASE: From Mrs. Helen Winter, bedridden Smith Act victim sentenced in Detroit Feb. 19 with five men to 4-5 years in prison, came latest word on their cases. Original bail for the six—Nat Ganley, $7,500; Saul Wellman, $10,000; William Allan, $5,000; Thomas Dennis, $7,500; Phil Schatz, $7,500; Helen Winter, $5,000, totaling $42,500—was increased at the time of sentencing by $70,000, totaling $112,000. The men were removed to the Wayne Co. jail; transferred 10 days later to the Federal Correctional Institution, Milan, Mich., there to stay until the additional bail is forthcoming. Mrs. Winter was freed in her original bond.

A board of trustees—Hack Raskin (treas.), Bill McKie and Sidney Rosen—was appealing for contributions to the additional $70,000 to be sent to Mich. Civil Rights Fund, 918 Charlevoix Bldg., Detroit 26. Contributions would not go through organization funds but were restricted by law for the posting of bail.

THE SCORE: Around the nation, this was the Smith Act score last week:

ORIGINAL CASE: 12 national Communist Party leaders indicted; 1 case severed; 9 in prison; 2 refugees.

NEW YORK: 15 indicted; 2 cases dismissed; 13 convicted; all on bail pending appeal to Appellate Court.

PITTSBURGH: 6 indicted; all convicted; all on bail pending argument before Appellate Court.

HAWAII: 7 indicted; all convicted; all on bail pending appeal.

SEATTLE: 5 indicted; all convicted; all on bail pending appeal; also, 3 contempt sentences; 3 years each, being appealed.

LOS ANGELES: 14 indicted; all convicted; all on bail pending appeal, including 1 contempt sentence of 4 years.

PHILADELPHIA: 9 indicted; all on bail; trial not started.

CLEVELAND: 11 indicted; all on bail; trial not started.

CALIFORNIA: 5 indicted in "harboring" case; all on bail; further arguments coming.

CHILDREN'S CAMPS

Camp Wyandot
MOUNT TREMPER, N. Y.
An interracial, non-sectarian, non-profit camp where children of all backgrounds work and play in harmony. Trained Staff.
Boys & Girls 8 to 16
- Work Program for Older Campers
- 3, 6 and 9 Week Periods
- Moderate Rates

Rich Intercultural Program
All Sports, swimming, boating, trips, arts & crafts, music, dance & dramatics.
Now Registering at:
49 E. 19th St. AL 4-8257-8

TIMBERLINE CAMP
JEWETT, GREENE CO., N. Y.
Elev. 2300 ft. Low pollen count
INTERRACIAL: Boys & Girls 4-12
Professionally trained staff
All sports facilities, swimming, separate wading pool. Farm animals, woodcraft, painting, ceramics, music, folk & square dancing, nature study, trips
Moderate Rates—No Extras
DIRECTOR: Dr. Sarah Riedman
1066 Park Pl., B'klyn, PR 2-0325

Patronize GUARDIAN advertisers

CALENDAR

Chicago

Sat., April 3, 8:30 p.m., U. E. Hall, 37 S. Ashland. "FOR TRADE AND PEACE WITH CHINA," Maud Russell, outstanding authority in U. S on China. Also Pete Seeger, Bill Broonzy, famed folk singers. Adm: 60c. Ausp: American Peace Crusade.

PROGRESSIVES this is YOUR theater! CINEMA ANNEX, Madison near Kedzie. See daily listing under "movies" "West."

CAMP KINDERLAND
On Sylvan Lake, N. Y.
Girls and Boys, Ages 6-16
8 week season—$330
2, 4, 6, 8 wk. periods available
A Children's Camp combining progressive Jewish education with interracial living.
Full program of land and water sports. Cultural theme: 300 yrs. of Jewish contributions to American democracy portrayed thru song, dance and play.
Adult accommodations at
CAMP LAKELAND
New York Offices: 1 Union Sq. W.
AL 5-6283 New York City 3

Los Angeles

MARGARET MEAD, Anthropologist, author "Coming of Age in Samoa," "Sex and Temperament," "Male and Female," gives Fri., April 2, 8 p.m., her "after-25-years" revisit report, "RETURN TO NEW GUINEA." Adm. $1. 2936 W. 8th St., ½ blk. east of Vermont. UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM.

HONORING JACK CHASSON Party, Sat., March 27, 5108 W. Adams Blvd. Floor Show: Al Hammer, Connie Lindeman, others. For Legal Fund to win back Jack's teaching job. Mail contributions to Chasson Legal Fund, 2268 Holly Drive, Hollywood, Calif.

CLASSIFIED

General

BARGAIN IN VITAMINS
29 high potency vitamins and minerals; 60 day supply only $3.00. Money back guarantee! Pharmacist 9253 173d St., Jamaica, N. Y.

Organically grown, tree-ripened, unsprayed ORANGES & GRAPEFRUIT MIXED. $2 per bu. plus express (call Ry. Exp. office for shipping charge) or send $2 and pay express charge when received. Gift wrapped to your friends (no extra charge). Special: A 90 pound box of GRAPEFRUIT (mixed sizes) only $2.50 plus express. Share it with your neighbor M. A. TUCKER GROVES, Rt. 6, Box 618, Tampa, Fla.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Tuesday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, Natl. Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

TREE RIPENED ORANGES, GRAPEFRUIT OR MIXED, $1.50 Bu. express collect. Organically grown, mineralized, unsprayed, maximum health content. 10th season, guaranteed. Organic Orange Groves, Seffner, Fla.

VITAMIN SPECIAL! Stay young longer! Use MARUSIL! 16 high potency Vitamins and 12 Minerals. 30 day supply only $1. Regularly $2.45. Rush your order. Guaranteed! MARUSIL, P. O. Box 535, Jamaica 1, N. Y.

WOULD ANY WOMAN WHO CAN TYPE (or a couple—man to do garden work) be interested in exchanging vegetarian board and room in the country for 5 hours daily work? Box H, 17 Murray St., New York City 7.

Books & Publications

"THE AMATEUR BOOK COLLECTOR"
1822-A School St., Chicago 13, Ill.
$2 a year (10 issues)
4 Sample Copies $1
20 Back Numbers including Vol I, No. 1 $5 (Satisfaction Guaranteed).

HERESY.—The Rev. Claude Williams of Helena, Ala., is fighting against dismissal from the Presbyterian Church which charges him with "heresy." His lifelong fight for the disinherited of the South, his development of a dynamic people's interpretation of the Scriptures are told in Cedric Belfrage's "A FAITH TO FREE THE PEOPLE." A few copies still available, $1.25., from Claude Williams, Rt. 1, Box 268, Helena, Ala.

Introducing VENTURE, a new, exciting quarterly—"For all who take an interest in writing"—Natl. Guardian. 72 pp. of stories, poetry, sketches. Send $1 for yearly subscription to Writers Workshop, ASP, 35 W. 64th St., N. Y. C. 23.

Los Angeles

COMMUNITY PHARMACY
Prescriptions, Vitamins, Toiletries
2331 Brooklyn Av. ANgelus 7777
Guardians on sale, subs and renewals taken here.

RESORT

EAST HOOK for a happy week or week-end. Skating, tobogganing, informal, continental cuisine. 60 miles from N. Y. C. Children welcome. Lerman, R.D. No. 2, Hopewell Junction, N. Y. Tel: BEacon 9-4156.

EASTER VACATION AT FESTIVAL HOUSE. Informal entertainment, tennis, records. Low rates for week-end, week, reserve now. Phone, write Lenox, Mass., 367W or LU 2-1165.

"HIS CASE IS STILL ALIVE—SERVICE CAN, THEREFORE, STILL BE RENDERED TO THE CAUSE OF JUSTICE . . ."

D. N. Pritt analyses the evidence in the case of M

DENIS NOWELL PRITT, author of this analysis of the Sobell case, contributed a similar analysis of the Rosenberg case to the GUARDIAN Nov. 20, 1952. The author is one of the veteran senior members of the English Bar: a Queen's (King's) Counsel since 1927. For many years a Labour MP and chairman of the Howard League for Penal Reform and the Bentham Committee for Poor Litigants, he presided in Sept., 1933, over the Reichstag Fire inquiry in London.

THE ROSENBERG CASE—in which Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were tried and convicted on a charge of conspiring to commit espionage in relation to the alleged secret or secrets of the atom-bomb and as a result were ultimately electrocuted in June, 1953—excited interest and controversy all over the world. I was myself one of the many people who studied, analyzed and criticized that trial.

There is nothing more that any lawyer can do directly for the Rosenbergs; but I have now been invited, as a lawyer, to study the trial again, wholly afresh and from a different angle, in relation to the charge of conspiracy against Morton Sobell, which was as it were "tacked on" to the Rosenberg case.

Sobell was tried jointly with the Rosenbergs, for what was alleged to be the same conspiracy, and was found guilty and sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment. His case is still alive in the sense that he is himself alive and can be released from prison. Service can, therefore, still be rendered to the cause of justice by an objective examination of the trial, and of the evidence which was given at the trial against him.

I have undertaken to make this examination to the best of my ability and I approach the task from the point of view of one who has been an English barrister for 44 years—practising both in trial and in appellate work, having to study in detail many hundreds of records of cases from all parts of the British Empire and Commonwealth, in which countries the procedure is very similar to that of the U.S.A.; and also a certain number of records from the U.S.A. itself. To form an estimate of the value which the evidence given in the case should possess in the eyes of lawyers trained in Anglo-Saxon legal traditions, is thus work of the sort to which I have devoted a large part of my professional time.

Sobell not named in Rosenberg 'overt act' charges

THE INDICTMENT on which the two Rosenbergs and Sobell were actually tried was what is called a superseding indictment—i.e., one based on, and taking place of, earlier indictments. It was returned on January 31, 1951, against five defendants, namely the two Rosenbergs, Sobell himself, one David Greenglass, and one Yakovlev. Greengass pleaded guilty. The case of Yakovlev was severed and was not proceeded with. The Rosenbergs and Sobell pleaded not guilty and were tried together.

The charge was that five defendants named, together with one Harry Gold, one Ruth Greenglass, "and other persons unknown," had conspired over a period of six years, from June 6, 1944, to June 16, 1950,

> ". . . the U. S. A. being there and then at war, with intent and reason to believe that it would be used to the advantage of a foreign nation, to wit the U. S. S. R., to communicate, deliver and transmit to a foreign government, to wit the U. S. S. R., and representatives and agents thereof, directly and indirectly, documents, writings, sketches, notes and information relating to the National Defense of the U. S. A."

To understand the case against Sobell—with which alone this analysis is directly concerned—one must first examine how that case originated. The charge against him was first made by a complaint on oath, of a special agent of the FBI, sworn on August 3, 1950, accusing him of conspiring with Julius Rosenberg and others unknown to the accuser—and therefore presumably excluding Ethel Rosenberg and David Greenglass. The "overt acts" of this conspiracy—the significance of overt acts is explained fully below—were in this case alleged on oath in the complaint to consist mainly of five unspecified "Conversations with Julius Rosenberg in the Southern District of New York," said to have taken place in Jan., 1946, June, 1946, Feb., 1947, and May, 1948.

On August 17, 1950, shortly after the date of that complaint against Sobell, the first indictment against the Rosenbergs was filed. This charged the two Rosenbergs and Yakovlev with conspiring among themselves and with Harry Gold, David Greenglass, Ruth Greenglass and with other persons unknown—thus excluding Sobell—substantially to the same effect as is set out in the superseding indictment quoted above; and in this indictment 11 overt acts were alleged. These overt acts, with the addition of one which was added in the final superseding indictment, were as follows:—

(1) That Julius Rosenberg visited a building in Washington, D. C., on or about June 6, 1944.

(2) That on or about November 15, 1944, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg talked with Ruth Greenglass.

(3) That, five days later, Julius Rosenberg gave Ruth Greenglass some money in New York.

(4) That, on the same day, Ruth Greenglass took a train from New York to New Mexico.

(5) That, three weeks later, Julius Rosenberg went to a building in New York.

(6) That, on the same day, Julius Rosenberg received from Ruth Greenglass a paper containing written information.

(7) That, on or about January 5, 1945, in New York, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg talked with David and Ruth Greenglass.

(8) That, on the same day, Julius Rosenberg gave Ruth Greenglass a portion of the side of a torn cardboard "Jello" box.

(9) That, five days later, Julius Rosenberg introduced David Greenglass to a man in New York.

(10) That, two days thereafter, Julius Rosenberg talked with David Greenglass.

(11) That, on the same day, Julius Rosenberg received from David Greenglass a paper containing sketches of experiments conducted at the Los Alamos Project.

(12) That, two days after that, David Greenglass took a train from New York to New Mexico.

D. N. PRITT

ETHEL ROSENBERG

MORTON SOBELL

JULIUS ROSENBER

Difference between Rosenberg and Sobell cases

IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTICE, at that stage, how very different the two cases were. Let me examine them one by one:—

(1) The initial charge against Sobell was one of conspiring with Julius Rosenberg alone, with "overt acts" covering a period of January, 1946, to May, 1948; nothing in the complaint indicated any connection with atomic bomb information, and in fact no such connection was ever suggested, nor was any connection between Sobell and any other alleged conspirator suggested.

(2) The first indictment of Rosenberg alleged a conspiracy of six named persons, not including Sobell, and the "overt acts" seemed to indicate—as proved at the trial to be the case—that the charge related solely to atom-bomb information; the overt acts covered a period of six months which ended one year before those alleged against Sobell were said to have begun.

There was thus nothing in common between the two cases except that they were both charges of obtaining "information relating to the national defense of the U.S.A." for transmission to the U.S.S.R., and that both involved Julius Rosenberg; and even on this latter point it is noticeable that, whilst Sobell was charged with conspiring with Rosenberg, Rosenberg was not charged with conspiring with Sobell!

To come back to the narrative, there comes, after certain further proceedings, the superseding indictment of January 31, 1951, already set out which

---

ROBBIE AND MICHAEL KNOW THE WORLD IS THEIR FRIEND

Leave Rosenberg children alone, indignant Europe cries

LETTERS bearing strange stamps, flooding into the New York court of Surrogate William T. Collins as they had previously poured into Mayor Wagner's office and Judge Panken's Children's Court, testified to the world-wide indignation against moves to take Michael and Robbie Rosenberg from their family. (Legal briefs in the action to appoint the Jewish Child Care Society's president as guardian of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg's children were submitted March 18.)

A mass protest meeting was held in East Berlin last week; one was scheduled for later this month in Bombay, India; hundreds who attended such a meeting March 1 in Brussels signed a letter to the Surrogate, sent $50 collected from the audience to buy "something he would really like" for Michael's 11th birthday March 10. The Women's Intl. Democratic Fedn. asked all its members (it claims to represent 140 million women around the world) to wire protests to President Eisenhower, said last month it had received "hundreds of letters and resolutions of solidarity with regard to the two children from every part of the world." Among protests from Britain were one from the Jewish Workers Circle in Stepney, London, and one signed by 27 prominent writers, including Naomi Mitchison, Jack Lindsay, Montagu Slater and Alex Comfort, who said the persecution of the children "would appear unworthy of a civilized nation."

THE WAVE IN FRANCE: Loudest and broadest protests were still coming from France; the wave was set in motion at a Feb. 24 mass meeting in the same Mutualite hall where Parisian workers, writers, housewives, lawyers and artists had gathered a week earlier to honor Michael's and Robbie's late guardian Emanuel Bloch. Hundreds who could not get in stood outside the hall.

Meetings in other cities have been as jammed as the one in Paris; in Marseilles, the gathering was addressed by representatives of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish groups including Grand Rabbi Selzer. Contributions have been mounting rapidly to the Rosenberg Children's Fund opened after Bloch's death by a broad Catholic-Protestant-Communist committee.

Delegations have been streaming day after day to the U. S. Embassy in Paris. One of these, bearing a 172-signature protest from employes of a Paris social work organization, reported it was received by an official who angrily threw the document down on his desk and said one word: "Crazy!"

AN OUTRAGED NATION: By last week messages had been sent representing the protests of hundreds of thousands in French trade unions, city councils and districts, offices, schools, orphanages, churches, family circles and groups gathered in cafes. The municipal council of Ivry (Paris), protesting "these barbarous proceedings" in the name of "the outraged feelings of Ivry's population," informed the U. S. Embassy it had "decided to give the name of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to the former Place Parmentier." The Jewish Union for Resistance & Mutual Aid wired Eisenhower: "We demand respect for these unfortunate children and for the testament of their parents." The Assn. of Former Deportees in the (Nazi) Camp at Ravens-

Morton Sobell

corresponds pretty closely to that of the indictment of August 17, 1950, mentioned above—with the important exceptions that David Greenglass is named not merely as a conspirator but as one of the defendants, and that Morton Sobell is added as a defendant. The addition of Sobell is made quite crudely, with no change in the wording or any other attempt to "fit him in"; his name is just, as it were, thrown in, and the "overt acts" of the conspiracy in which he is thus alleged to be involved remain the same 12 overt acts (already mentioned) which came to an end a year before those previously alleged against him and had nothing to do with him, carrying no mention of him whatever; nor was any attempt made at the trial to connect him with any of them. The overt acts which had previously been alleged against him were not brought into this indictment, nor referred to in any way.

OSENBERG

'Loose practices' in conspiracy trials

BEFORE CARRYING the narrative any further, it is necessary to explain what is the essence of the crime of conspiracy, and why a charge of conspiracy to commit some crime or other is so frequently made, in lieu of a charge that the substantive crime was actually committed. "Conspiracy" can be defined, sufficiently for present purposes, as an agreement between two or more people to commit a crime; it is itself a crime, and it is complete as soon as two or more persons have agreed in any way whatsoever, whether formally or informally, by words or by conduct, to commit some crime; it is not necessary for the prosecution to prove the commission of the ultimate crime nor even of acts amounting to an attempt to commit it.

It is thus in general easier to secure a conviction for conspiracy than for any other offense, for less has actually to be proved against the defendants; and prejudice or excitement may lead a jury to convict parties on a mere allegation that they agreed or arranged together to do something, under circumstances where, if it were necessary to prove some positive criminal act, the jury would have to acquit because there would be no evidence at all of any such acts.

To secure a conviction is moreover made easier still by the operation of a peculiar rule of evidence. In all normal cases no evidence can be given against any defendant in a criminal case except evidence of acts which he himself did or words which he himself spoke; but in a conspiracy case, so long as some evidence—even tenuous—is given from which an agreement between the alleged conspirators might be inferred so as to establish a case of conspiracy against them, the acts and words of any of them, asserted to be done or spoken in pursuance of the conspiracy, become admissible evidence against all the others, on the footing that they are all agents of one another, and so responsible for each other's words and actions.

It is little wonder, in the circumstances, that in all periods of tension, in all countries, charges of conspiracy have been frequently made, and many defendants have been found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment, although little has been proved against them and no other crime could plausibly even be charged. The dangers, inherent in conspiracy charges, of convictions being reached on inadequate evidence are well recognized; they were cogently stated by Mr. Justice Jackson of the Supreme Court of the U.S., in a judgment delivered in 1949:

> "The unavailing protests of courts against the growing habit to indict for conspiracy in lieu of prosecuting for the substantive offense itself, or in addition thereto, suggests that loose practice as to this offense constitutes a serious threat to fairness in our administration of justice. . . . When the trial starts, the accused feels the full impact of the conspiracy strategy. . . . [He] often is confronted with a hodgepodge of acts and statements by others which he may never have authorized or intended or even known about but which help to persuade the jury of the existence of the conspiracy itself. . . . The naive assumption that prejudicial effects can be overcome by instructions to the jury . . . all practising lawyers know to be unmitigated fiction."

As will be seen later, the present case provides an extreme instance of the abuses against which Mr. Justice Jackson was there protesting.

One result of these dangers of conspiracy prosecutions is that a rule has become firmly established in most Anglo-Saxon jurisdictions, including that of the Federal Courts of the U.S.A., that "overt acts" demonstrating the conspiracy should be alleged in the indictment, and that at any rate one of them should be proved. It is usual, and in accordance with the general principle that persons accused of crime should know pretty fully what they have to meet, that such overt acts should be stated with precision.

Sobell's 5 'overt acts' vanish

SOBELL WAS CONFRONTED, by this indictment, not only with a very vague charge, but with the astonishing situation that he was suddenly charged with 12 overt acts which had previously been alleged against other persons only, and seemed to have no connection with himself whatever; and that the five overt acts that did at any rate mention his name were either abandoned or left in the air. In the circumstances, his counsel naturally enough made application to the court to dismiss the indictment as against himself, on the ground of vagueness, or alternatively to order that particulars of it should be supplied to him by the prosecution so he might know what the case against him really was.

This latter application should surely have been accepted as a matter of elementary justice; but the prosecution resisted it stoutly, even going so far as to ask for a re-hearing after an order for particulars had been made; but it was finally ordered that certain (somewhat meagre) particulars should be given. The prosecution then stated, in compliance with this order, (1) that the date at which Sobell was alleged to have joined the conspiracy was on or about June 15, 1944—five months before the Rosenbergs' indictment started (the conspiracy itself having been alleged in the superseding indictment to have started on or about June 6); and (2) that the five overt acts mentioned in the original complaint against Sobell, consisting of conversations with Julius Rosenberg, as mentioned above, were still relied upon by the prosecution.

In a case where all the charges were made in vague terms, and in particular the overt acts were expressed in the most general phraseology imaginable—a "conversation in the Southern District of New York," for example, could take place anywhere in a very large area of New York State; and it could surely be expected, in an important prosecution, that the prosecuting authorities who proposed to prove by evidence that a conversation had taken place would be able to state, at any rate within a mile or two, where it took place—the defendants were surely entitled to be told with much more particularity what the case against them was. But in truth the extraordinary position developed at the trial—as will be seen below—that no attempt was made to prove any of the five overt acts alleged against Sobell (with one possible exception).

It is difficult to guess why the prosecution thought of — or invented — these particular allegations and the dates of them; and they did in substance disappear from the picture. For example, when the trial judge, in his charge to the jury, had the whole indictment read to them, it was read only with the 12 "non-Sobell" overt acts, and no mention was made of the other five.

Was it the same or a different 'conspiracy'?

TO RETURN TO THE NARRATIVE of the case, one can see that, with this very scanty information as to what the prosecution's case against Sobell really was, it was impossible at the beginning of the trial to ascertain whether the conspiracy which it was sought to prove against Sobell was or was not the same as that which was sought to be proved against the two Rosenbergs and Greenglass. Sobell could not therefore apply for a separate trial, but had to be tried along with the Rosenbergs before the same judge and the same jury; and the jury which had to determine Sobell's guilt or innocence thus had to listen to all the tens of thousands of words of evidence of the general case against the Rosenbergs, sensationally related by a string of witnesses who knew nothing of Sobell, and were unknown to him.

As a matter of common sense, as well as of law, it is plain that the case on the one hand against the two Rosenbergs and others in relation to the atomic information alleged to have been obtained by Greenglass and handed to Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and the case on the other hand in relation to the totally different information alleged to have been sought and obtained by Sobell for Julius Rosenberg, were as far apart as Los Alamos (where the atomic information lay) and New York City or Schenectady (where Sobell was allegedly active).

This point will be further developed later in this analysis. For the moment, it is sufficient to repeat that the jury which had to try Sobell had to listen to the evidence against the Rosenbergs—which could never be admissible against Sobel unless it were established that he and the Rosenbergs had entered into one conspiracy together; and that they were moreover subjected to the mass of hysterical prejudice which was worked up against the Rosenbergs, including in particular the prejudice which was bound to accompany any allegation of espionage into atom-bomb secrets (with which, in due course, it became common ground that Sobell had nothing whatever to do).

NEXT WEEK: In his second and concluding article, Mr. Pritt will sift the testimony of Max Elitcher, the key witness, and will sum up the whole case.

---

brueck wrote the Surrogate's Court:

> "We who suffered so much by separation from our children and from our parents during the terrible years of the Hitler concentration camps ask you that the Rosenberg children be returned to their family, and that they should not be deprived of the love of which they have so great need."

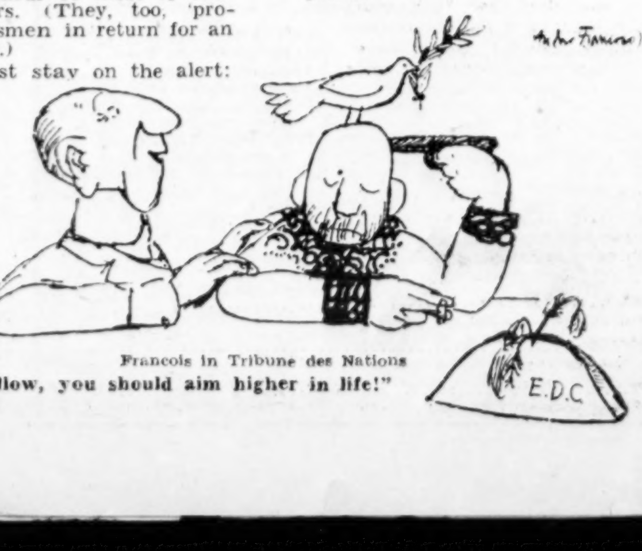
A similar message came from a Paris section of the Republican Assn. of Veterans & Victims of the Two Wars. The 18th section of the Movement Against Anti-Semitism & Racism "earnestly" requested the court to "respect justice in the interest of the traditions of the American people by returning the children to their family—the only humane course."

"STAY ON THE ALERT": The French press was bitter. **Combat** (anti-Communist Left), accused the U.S. government of "direct or indirect implication" in Emanuel Bloch's death, said:

> ". . . No doubt the death of one man is not of much interest in the eyes of those who have parked in zoos those few Indians whom they have not exterminated and who tolerate the lynching of Negroes. . . . Children are malleable, but there always remains in them an inaccessible corner. The reformers of conscience will certainly note this, and it is then that they will throw the Rosenberg children to the mercy of the collective hysteria; that they will make of them new stealers of new hydrogen bombs, new organizers of new spy plots (McCarthy has need of these plots for his electoral propaganda). And it is then that they will demand, if they have not already demanded it: 'Must we kill the Rosenberg children?' "

Jean-Paul Sartre, whose blast against "The Animals Sick With Rabies" in America the GUARDIAN reprinted last July 6, wrote in **Liberation** (progressive):

> "Unfortunately the American society 'for the protection of children' has decided to protect them [Michael and Robbie]—in its particular fashion: it began by making shameful charges against the family that had taken them in. Then it took them away and imprisoned them in an orphanage. . . . These proceedings are not unmindful of those of Chicago racketeers. (They, too, 'protected' businessmen in return for an honest pay-off.)
>
> ". . . We must stay on the alert: the suspicious death of lawyer Bloch, the inadmissible acts of violence, the co-operation given so promptly and brutally by the New York police to a private organization—all suggest that the threat has not been dispelled."



Francois in Tribune des Nations

"My dear fellow, you should aim higher in life!"

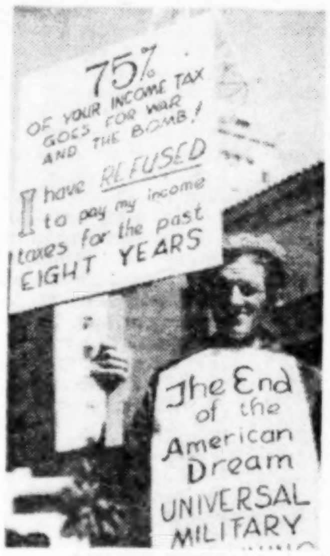
The Quaker heritage — and what happened to two

By Cedric Belfrage

FROM Quaker stock, with its persistent tradition of pitting conscience against violence, came two sons of toil on remote farms in Illinois and Ohio, back when Grover Cleveland was President. Now at 70 and 61, Clarence Pickett and Ammon Hennacy sum up what they have accomplished by following the dictates of religious conscience wherever it led. These are two enlightening books* on both the potential and the limitations of religion as a power for social betterment. They should be read by progressives seeking better acquaintance with fellow-Americans who seek "the Kingdom of God on earth" by other methods, impelled by a different faith.

The life of Clarence Pickett—for 22 years exec. secy. of the American Friends Service Committee, now its hon. secy. working on a public-policy level to ease the cold war by applications of truth—would justify personal pride. There is no suggestion of it in the book of one so schooled in that hardest of achievements, self-effacement in group work. He tells of his group's "silent help from the nameless to the nameless" without illusions as to how far their labor of love has made America and the world better.

BATTLE OF THE SPIRIT: Refusing participation in violence through the most violent agonized era in history, they have continued to feed the starving, clothe the naked, in American wars of bosses against unions and in a score of other countries. "Quite as concerned for the spirit of the oppressor as for the needs of the oppressed," they have patiently sought to bring out in the former—even in Hitler's Gestapo—the humanity which their faith insists must reside somewhere in all men and women.


75% OF YOUR INCOME TAX GOES FOR WAR AND THE BOMB!
I have REFUSED to pay my income taxes for the past EIGHT YEARS
The End of the American Dream
UNIVERSAL MILITARY

AMMON HENNACY
The way he feels

Looking backward, writing without intolerance "even" toward the U.S.S.R. and new China, Pickett sees America today "more fearful, more committed to use of physical violence" than ever before. In the Bible prophets he finds a basis for seeing "the roots of conflict deeply imbedded in an unjust economic system." Yet the redemptive formula remains the same: "To throw ourselves into the battle of the spirit to overcome those insidious enemies which are within all of us, and the root of our world trouble." If more Quakers would stop being "comfortable" and fight that battle, they would prove themselves what Pickett believes they should be: a "revolutionary and deeply disturbing challenge to human society."

WAR? "NOT INTERESTED": A different exponent of the same doctrine is Ammon Hennacy, Tolstoyan anarchist and **Catholic Worker** columnist. With potato-famine Irish, Populists, Baptists, John Brown, forty-niners and socialism mixed up in his descent and childhood aura in addition to Quakers, this robust and fearless little man has led a stormy life physically and spiritually and ended up as a most unorthodox Roman Catholic.

The consistent thread was total resistance to war. For refusing to register for the draft he spent 1917-19 in Atlanta penitentiary, with eight months in solitary; there the Bible cured him of atheism and he met Alexander Berkman, the anarchist who used a gun—still recalled as one of "the only two great men" Hennacy has known. Since World War II he has lived in Arizona. There he became a champion of his oppressed Hopi Indian neighbors, and there and all over the U.S. he has conducted a "one-man revolution" against war, learning to take and parry the threatening yells of "Communist!" as he picketed first the 1946 "Freedom Train," then—every year for the past eight—Internal Revenue offices in the tax season.

Each year he carefully prepares his tax return, writes "Not interested" in the space for "Amount of tax due," and sends it in with dates when he will picket the tax office, explaining that he will not pay taxes for armaments to an "anti-Christian" government which denies the Sermon on the Mount daily." Gandhi-like, he fasts through the picketing days, and hands out leaflets. He has not been proscuted; his property cannot be seized, for he has none.

CLARENCE PICKETT
The love is applied

WORK & COURAGE: Hennacy "calls all men his brothers, in banks or on skid row." His bids for brotherhood with bankers will seem to many rather a waste of his fabulous energy and good brain, as will also his occasional (but not consistent) inaccurate gibes at "communists," which he should know better than to write. Many will find only mystical confusion in his reasons for joining the Roman church, but will follow him when he explains he went to church with **Catholic Worker** people because they were the only anarchists he knew, and they had "that greatest of virtues, courage."

Hennacy has not only practised as well as preached the wisdom that hard work is good for any soul; he has indeed, above all the other courageous **Catholic Worker** people, proved that his courage in defense of principle is one few non-religious progressives can match. Much of his book is exciting and inspiring to read, especially the fine section on his jail experience. How much will his "one-man revolution" contribute to rebirth of "a decadent, confused and dying world?" On this he says guardedly:

"I may not change the world, but I'll work so the world won't change me."

**FOR MORE THAN BREAD, by Clarence E. Pickett. Little, Brown (Boston), 420 pp., $5.*

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CATHOLIC ANARCHIST, by Ammon Hennacy. Catholic Worker Books (223 Chrystie St., N.Y.C. 2), 306 pp., $3.

RECORDS

MEMORIAL ALBUM
of
EMANUEL H. BLOCH
Recorded on Sept. 22, 1953
speaking on
"Heritage of the Rosenbergs"
This stirring speech recorded on 2 10" LP records with photo of Emanuel Bloch on album cover.
SPECIAL OFFER: $3.50 plus 50c for postage and handling
LIBERTY RECORDS
4097 Grand Av., Detroit 38, Mich.

PUBLICATIONS

LIBERTY BOOK CLUB, by special arrangement with the Publishers has just secured a limited number of copies of GIANT IN CHAINS, by Barrows Dunham.

Professor Dunham was Chairman of the Department of Philosophy at Temple University when he wrote this book. Chosen as Liberty Book Club's June Selection, GIANT IN CHAINS was soon completely sold out and we have been unable to meet the demand for this excellent book.

GIANT IN CHAINS
By BARROWS DUNHAM
DAYBREAK IN CHINA
By BASIL DAVIDSON
(or any two books checked below) will be yours
FOR ONLY $1.64 on joining Liberty Book Club
Send no money — Mail coupon today

LIBERTY BOOK CLUB, 100 W. 23rd Street, New York 11

Enroll me as a member of Liberty Book Club. Send me, at once, the two books checked below, one of them being my BONUS for joining. Bill me only $1.64 plus (25c mailing and handling, add 5c tax in N. Y. C.) for both. I agree to accept four books per year No other obligation Send me monthly Liberty Book Club News, so I can decide if I want the selection described.

☐ GIANT IN CHAINS by Barrows Dunham
☐ DAYBREAK IN CHINA by Basil Davidson
☐ THE NEGRO IN CIVIL WAR by Benjamin Quarles
☐ REPORT ON SO. AFRICA by Basil Davidson
☐ COOLIE by Mulk Raj Anand
☐ THE SOUTHPAW by Mark Harris
☐ SLAVE MUTINY by William A. Owens
☐ PASSION OF SACCO & VANZETTI, by Howard Fast
☐ DAUGHTERS & SONS by Kung Chueh & Yuan Ching
☐ DITTE: TOWARD the STARS by Martin Andersen Nexo
☐ DITTE: DAUGHTER OF MAN by Martin Andersen Nexo
☐ 'TIS FOLLY TO BE WISE by Lion Feuchtwanger
☐ BEL AMI by Guy de Maupassant
☐ ROSE AND CROWN by Sean O'Casey

NAME ....
ADDRESS ....
CITY.......................... ZONE...... STATE............

PUBLICATIONS

"Only close ties with the people can help a writer create a genuinely great work of art."
—From review of MASSES & MAINSTREAM.
In Jan., 1954 issue of
Soviet Literature
Single copy — 35c
Sub. 12 issues — $2.50
•
The Old Man's Mittens
A picture story book In English from USSR. For 3-8 year olds. A story about kindness.
Now available together with
Steppe Sunlight
For 10-13 year olds
BOTH FOR $1
•
IMPORTED PUB. & PROD.
22 E. 17th St., New York 3, N. Y.

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS and PERIODICALS from the U. S. S. R.
BORIS POLEVOI
THE STORY ABOUT A REAL MAN
Stirring novel of an aviator amputee's triumph over his handicap. Literary Award.
In Eng.—559 pp.—$1.50
•
YURI TRIFONOV
STUDENTS
This absorbing novel describes Moscow student life in the post-war years. Stalin Prize novel.
In Eng.—498 pp.—$1.25
•
Works of Russian classics and contemporary writers, in English.
1954 Subscriptions Open for All Soviet Newspapers & Periodicals.
Large Assortment of the latest recordings in the various languages of the U. S. S. R.
We ship to all parts of the U. S., So. America & Canada.
Ask for Complete Catalog E-54 and "Periodica."
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 St., N. Y. 19 GR 3-2018-9

BASIC PAMPHLETS ON CURRENT ISSUES — No. 7
By CORLISS LAMONT
Challenge To McCarthy
5c per copy
An indispensable document in the battle against McCarthyism.

Dr. Lamont challenges the right of Joseph McCarthy's committee to question him about his political beliefs, associational activities and personal affairs.

In this first-hand account of his appearance before the committee, he tells why he refused to answer on the grounds of the 1st Amendment and the separation of powers.

The pamphlet includes Dr. Lamont's full legal statement before the McCarthy committee and Dr. Albert Einstein's original letter on Congressional inquisitions.

Other BASIC PAMPHLETS
No. 3. The Humanist Tradition
No. 5. Back to the Bill of Rights
No. 4 Effects of American Foreign Policy
No. 6. The Myth of Soviet Aggression

Please order above pamphlets by number, enclosing 5c per copy, 50c for 12 copies, or $1 for 30 copies, from BASIC PAMPHLETS, Dept. 598, Box 42, Cathedral Station, New York 25, N. Y.

PLAY GUITAR
OR PIANO IN 5 DAYS
OR YOUR MONEY BACK!
QUICKLY, EASILY, you'll play "Joe Hill," "Irene," pop tunes, blues & folk songs with rich chord harmonies . . . even if you don't know a single note now! Send $3 for Guitar Method, $3 for Piano Method to: LORRIE, 241 W. 108 St., N. Y. 25
FREE! "The Weavers Sing," exciting 48 pp. book of folk songs (reg. $1.25) if you act NOW.

Los Angeles

Progressive Opticians
Rapid Service Eyeglasses, Repairs
Oculists' Prescriptions Carefully Filled
Special consideration to Guardian readers.
WM. L. GOLTZ
6132 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles WAlnut 1107

mason furniture co.
Campaign Chairs — $6.95
contemporary furniture at sensible prices.
503 N. Western Av. HO 4-3111

ATLAS OPTICAL CO.
M. Franklyn (Maury) Mitchell
OPTICIAN
610 S. Broadway, Los Angeles
Suite 405 Vandike 3530
QUICK SERVICE—LOW PRICES
Special consideration to GUARDIAN readers

Give This Paper
To A Friend
Keep It Moving!

NEW YORK THROUGH THE CITY'S POLITICAL SEWER — II

Racetracks are gravy bowls for both parties, probe reveals

By Elmer Bendiner

FRANK COSTELLO (l.) AND ATTORNEY
Nip and tuck on a muddy track

RACETRACKS are kept flourishing in New York by a periodic coating of whitewash. Last week another investigating commission wound up in time for a new season at the track.

What they revealed was shocking enough: overnight fortunes made by leaders of both parties, or by their daughters or friends. Equally surprising and uninvestigated were the investigators themselves, the things they left untouched like the GOP's private gambling preserve, the things they sat on like the letter mentioning a "distinguished" influence-peddler.

The total picture would show that one of the juiciest payoffs offered by either big party machine is a partnership with the state's toughest mobsters in the million-dollar harness tracks.

THE PINKERTON TOUCH: A whitewash was predicted the day the Moreland Act commissioners were announced. Here's why: commission chairman Bruce Bromley was for years counsel for the Pinkerton Detective Agency. He represented them before the La-Follette Senate Civil Liberties Committee in 1937, which documented Pinkerton's strikebreaking services.

While Bromley maintained his connection with Pinkerton, the agency came to specialize in racetrack "security." In the Kefauver Senate Crime Commission hearings of 1950-51, George Morton Levy, pres. of the Nassau Trotting Assn., testified about the Pinkertons:

"I don't like to injure a very well-known detective agency, but he [the chairman of the N.Y.S. Harness Racing Commission] thought they were in cahoots with the gamblers."

NICE IF YOU CAN GET IT: Next on the commission was John F. Brosnan, who shares a law firm with Henry Root Stern Jr., treasurer of Nassau County Republican Committee. Another of Stern's partners is J. Russel Sprague, GOP national committeeman. Sprague, it later developed, had made a good thing out of the Nassau Trotting Assn. In 1945 he bought $2,000 worth of stock, sold it the following year for $196,000 after taxes.

Until recently he owned more hidden stock in the Assn. for which he paid nothing, and which he sold, when things grew warm on the raceways last fall, for $64,000.

The third member was George Trosk, connected with the Building Service Employes Union. The investigation had stemmed originally out of the murder of Thomas E. Lewis, a labor "fixer" well paid to stall off "labor trouble" at the track. Lewis was pres. of Building Service Employes Local 32E.

"NOTHING UNETHICAL": The investigators turned up other examples of skyrocketing profits to match Sprague's. For example, Brooklyn GOP chairman John R. Crews admitted he had "secretly" owned 400 shares in the Yonkers Trotting Assn. for which he paid $200 in 1948. They are now worth more than $20,000. Secy. of State Thomas J. Curran, who is Gov. Dewey's lieutenant, not only had 500 shares of the Yonkers Raceway (in his wife's name) but was paid $10,000 for introducing former U.S. Atty. Thomas J. Todarelli to former Supreme Court Justice William Bleakley. The introduction led to purchase of the Empire race track by the Algam Corp.

The commission, constantly embarrassed by its findings, ruled that though Yonkers Raceway shares were listed in Mrs. Curran's name until the scandal broke wide open last October, neither she nor Curran "ever purchased, had possession or interest in" them, and that Curran had done nothing "illegal, unethical or improper."

MAN OF DISTINCTION: Of other politicians who made fortunes at the tracks, the commission said: "Unless some impropriety is shown, no one should be condemned for participating in the ownership or operation of harness-racing tracks, even though original small investments turned out profitable beyond reasonable expectations."

When Hamilton Fish produced letters "from a high Republican" indicating that a "distinguished individual" was involved in "influence-peddling," Commission chairman Bromley impounded them, declared without investigation they were false, threatened any who published them with civil and criminal libel suits. Later, up-state GOP publisher Frank Gannett said he had written the letters but had very suddenly realized they were based on "false information." The "distinguished individual" powerful enough to suppress the letters would never be identified, but both Fish and Gannett had feuded with one distinguished GOP individual, Gov. Dewey.

DIVVYING UP: The commission spared politicians but took less pains to whitewash statistics. These showed that 19% of all harness-racing stock is owned by GOP officials, 16% by Democratic officials. Some tracks are non-partisan, many are bi-partisan, but each of the two big parties has its own exclusive tracks. For example, all stock in the Buffalo Trotting Assn. is owned by Democratic officials. In 1950 Democratic leaders had similarly tied up the Genesee-Monroe Racing Assn. and the Algam Corp. By 1953 Republican officials had muscled in on both.

First track licensed by the commission was Saratoga, where GOP officials own 42% of the stock.

RELIEVED COMMISSIONER: Harness-racing in the state is a gigantic gravy bowl where big money changes hands and must be channeled into bosses who control licenses, gangsters who control bookies. George Morton Levy, attorney, of Freeport, L. I., who last week threw the Moreland Commission into apparent confusion in tracing the mergers of track upon track into colossal racing empires, told a simpler story before the Kefauver Commission in March, 1951.

He told how the authorities charged there were illegal bookies at the Roosevelt raceway. Racing Commissioner Downing was disturbed. Police and Pinkertons were ineffective. Levy said he found the cure and testified that Commissioner Downing told Mrs. Downing "how he was relieved, a solution had been arrived at. . . . He said 'Levy has hired some racketeer and is paying him to try to keep the bookmakers out.'"

LAUGHTER: The "racketeer" was Frank Costello. Sen. O'Connor (D-Md.) of the Kefauver Committee asked Levy:

"How much did you pay him?"

Levy: "$60,000. $15,000 a year for four years."

Committee counsel Halley: "What did he do? Did he ever tell you what he did?"

Levy: "No."

Halley: "Well, he had told the committee that he wandered around to a few bars and talked to some people, none of whom he can remember, and he says that all he said was that if there were any bookies caught out at the track, they were going to get heavy sentences and they had better be careful. Does that sound like $60,000 worth?"

GOV. THOMAS E. DEWEY
Whitewash—eyewash

Levy: "When the laughter subsides I will try to answer."

RENTS ARE NOW PATRIOTIC

Loyalty oaths for tenants in federal projects upheld

LOYALTY oaths for tenants in federally-aided housing projects were upheld Mar. 9 by the Appellate Div. of the N.Y. State Supreme Court. Paul L. Ross and Royal W. France, attorneys for the tenants who charged the oath was unconstitutional, said it will be appealed to the State Appeals Court in Albany. They asked a stay of evictions pending further court action. The law, known as the Gwinn Amendment (GUARDIAN, 2/18), would require tenants to sign an oath of non-membership in any organization on the Atty. General's "subversive list."

The Appellate Court decision stated the "danger" of "the infiltration of government housing by subversive elements" justifies the requirement that tenants must "choose between government housing and membership in an organization that they know to have been found subversive by the Atty. General." Describing the decision as "erroneous," lawyer France noted that the U.S. Supreme Court had not yet upheld the validity of the Atty. General's list.

"NEW INFORMATION": Last July, Judge Henry Martuscello of the N.Y. Supreme Court ruled in favor of the tenants, declaring the Gwinn law unconstitutional. He stated the method of naming organizations to the list violated due process provisions of the fifth amendment. The Appellate Court said its decision was based on new information not available to Martuscello, which provides organizations with an opportunity for a hearing. Even with this provision, France said, eviction of tenants under the Gwinn law would violate their right as individuals to due process proceedings.

Housing authorities in several cities affected were expected to follow the lead of the N.Y. Housing Authority in staying evictions.

● Bring articles like this into the homes of more people. Introductory sub only $1 for six months. Sign up your friends!

BIG RALLY MAR. 26

Jimcrow storm hits Met. Life on Parkchester

THE Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. was besieged last week by organizations demanding an end to jimcrow in the company's big Parkchester housing project. The "Inter-group Committee for Integration in Parkchester" made its protest in a letter to Metropolitan's vice-pres. Frank Lowe.

The committee speaks for the NAACP, Bronx Branch of the Urban League, Council of Spanish American Organizations, Bronx division, Prot. Council, Catholic Interracial Council, Anti-Defamation League, Bronx chapter of the American Jewish Congress.

The Bronx County American Labor Party called an anti-bias housing rally for March 26 at Manhattan Center. Paul Robeson will head a program that includes Earl Robinson, Karen Morley, Hope Foye, Will Geer, Bob and Louis DeCormier, Les Pine, Edith Segal Dance Group, Jewish Young Folk Singers.

INSURANCE
Carl Brodsky
All kinds of insurance, including automobile, fire, life, compensation, etc.
799 Broadway • GR 5-3826

Different, But Homelike
Shashlik, Beef Stroganoff, Potato Pancakes & other tasty Russian & American Dishes.
ALEX'S
69 W. 10th St. (at 6th Av.)
DINNER $1.30-$1.75
Open 12-11 p.m. Tues.-Sun.

MOVING • STORAGE
FRANK GIARAMITA
& SONS TRUCKING CORP.
13 E. 7th St. near 3rd Av. GR 7-2457
EFFICIENT • RELIABLE

prize modern
Note the graceful lines and the pleasing lightness in appearance of this chair in solid walnut. The reversible seats and backs are filled with 4½" latex foam rubber. Covers have concealed zippers for easy replacement or removal for cleaning. Decorator textured fabrics in choice of 6 colors $5 additional.

WAC-33
$69.50
plus fabric
smilow-thielle
856 LEX. AV. TR 9-1171
Free delivery NYC. Free catalogue, fabric samples. Encl. 25c; postage, handling. Decorator Service Available. Free parking Open Thurs. till 9 p.m. Sat. until 6 p.m.

When your organization is having a meeting, party, affair — remember to advertise in the GUARDIAN.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Tuesday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

NEW YORK CALENDAR

★ Fun — Folk Dance — Frolic ★
Friday Eve., Mar. 26—8:30
YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM
launches its 4th Year
with a gala
FOLK DANCE & FOLK SONG
BIRTHDAY PARTY
•
featuring
PETE SEEGER
★ **PETE SEEGER** ★
PETE SEEGER
and His Banjo—in a complete program of exciting new songs of significance and old favorites from many lands!
•
PLUS
Two Hours of Folk Dancing.
Square Dances—Games—Novelties
led by
LOU SUPTON
popular, entertaining caller
•
SOCIAL DANCING TILL 1 A.M.
Free Drinks and Cakes
(No speeches)
YORKVILLE TEMPLE, 157 E. 86 St.
Contribution 85c. Members 75c
★ ALL WELCOME ★

INDO-CHINA: KEY TO PEACE IN ASIA. A first-hand report by Joseph Starobin. Jefferson School, 575 Av. of the Americas. Sun., March 21 8:30 p.m. Adm: $1.

DR. B. LIBER — PHYSICIAN-PSYCHIATRIST—will speak on "Physical & Mental Health in Our Present Society." Sun., March 21, 4 p.m., at 13th ALP Headquarters, 3410 Broadway (Room 201), near 138th St. Donation: 50c.

FOOD, DANCING AT 5 JONES ST. (Apt. 10), Sat., March 20, 9 p.m. to 3 a.m. Sub: $1. Sponsored by: Political Prisoners Welfare Comm.

HEAR LEONARD BOUDIN, noted constitutional law authority, on **WHAT SHALL WE DO ABOUT CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATING COMMITTEES?** Village ALP, 28 Greenwich Av., Wed., March 24, 8 p.m. Admission free.

Must There Be A Depression? Hear **VICTOR PERLO**, Thurs., March 25, 8:30 p.m. East Midtown Club, ALP, 137 E. 34th St. Admission free.

RUTH RUBIN, noted singer and recorder of folk songs, will appear at Film Division's Weekly Surprise Party. Social, refreshments and a surprise package. ASP Galleries, 35 W. 64th St. Sat., March 20, 9 p.m. Contribution: $1.

LECTURE: "Will the Catholic Hierarchy Support McCarthyite Fascism?" Speaker: Marvel Scholl. Fri., March 26, 8 p.m., Militant Hall, 116 University Pl. (nr. Union Sq.) Contribution: 25c. Auspices: Socialist Workers Party.

ARTISTS ARE PEOPLE. Membership Meeting: Art Division needs your ideas in developing new program set forth by leading artists at our recent conference. Hear **CHARLES COLLINS**, former V P. Hotel Union, N. Y. AFL; Pres. Liberty Book Club; and discussion by artists. ASP, 35 W. 64th St. Fri., Mar. 26 ,8:30 p.m. Refreshments. Free admission.

N. Y. MANDOLIN SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA. Samuel Firtsman conducting. 30th Anniversary Concert. Sat., March 27, 8:30 p.m., at Town Hall. Soloists: Leon Lishner, baritone, N. Y. C. Opera Co.; Leon Malamut, concertinist. Tickets: $1.25-$2 at Town Hall box office.

NEW YORK CLASSIFIED

MERCHANDISE

VACUUM CLEANER. Rated "Best." Reg. $78.50. SPEC. $49.95. Standard Brand Dist., 143 4th Av. (13 & 14 Sts.) GR 3-7819. 1 hr. free parking.

LARGE SAVINGS TO GUARDIAN READERS. Good modern furniture at low markup. Come in and see.
SMILOW THIELLE
856 Lexington Av. (near 64th St.)
TR 9-1171

SPECTACULAR BROADLOOM CLEARANCE. $100,000 worth of carpets in rolls, balances. All styles and colors. Must be sold before this Fall. No reasonable offer refused. **RUGCRAFT CARPET WAREHOUSE**, 123 W. 64th St. Open daily 9-6. Thurs. eve. and Sat. by appointment only.

DON'T WAIT—COME NOW. Gold, platinum, diamond and antique costume jewelry. Large selection of silverware, also remodelling and repairing of jewelry. Clara & Irving Gavurin, 22 W. 48th St., Room 1103. CO 5-1881.

PLANNING A FUND RAISING PARTY? Keep your liquor costs low. Call Parklane Liquors, Inc. (formerly Alvin Udell), 26 E. 58th St., PL 3-5160. Free deliveries anywhere in New York City.

POTTERY BARN
Specializing in 1sts, 2nds, closeouts of quality ceramics and glassware. Domestic & Imported. 231 10th Av. 23-24 Sts.) OR 5-4434. Store hours: Tues. thru Sat. 9:30-6. Sun. 12-6. Thurs. eve to 9. Closed Mon.

HI-FIDELITY EQUIPMENT
CAN CONVERT
your old radio console
into a modern instrument
VECTOR LABS
217 3d Av., N. Y. C. 3. GR 3-7686

TRIPLE TRACK COMBINATION storm-screen windows and doors. **VENETIAN BLINDS**, table pads, radiator enclosures, **MIRRORS, GLASS TOPS**, decorative window frames. Liberal discount to readers.
JOHN KOBLICK
238 Reid Av., B'klyn. GL 2-3024

POTTERY
OF ALL NATIONS
Largest selection of seconds and closeouts from the world's best sources, ½ to ¾ off list price. Also wrought iron, crystal., etc. 108 7th Av. So. WA 9-2666. Daily 10-10 p.m. Sun. 1-6 p.m.

TREMENDOUS SAVINGS
Large selection of adult bedding
Full line of juvenile furniture
FLATBUSH BABY CARRIAGE SHOP
789 Flatbush Av., B'klyn. BU 4-9109

phyllis
Handwrought silver jewelry gifts start at $4.80, tax incl. 175 West 4th Street, N. Y. C. Daily noon to 8 p.m. OR 5-8287.

Bronxites Come To
BELL GIFT & HOUSEWARES
Unusual selection of imported and domestic ceramics, wrought iron accessories, Trianon & Magnalite cooking ware. 219 E. Kingsbridge Rd., Bronx. Open Mon. thru Sat., 9-9 p.m. Tel: FO 7-6180.

SERVICES

RADIO - TV REPAIR specialist. Very reasonable rate. Same day service. Witch-hunt victim. AL-VISION SERVICE CO., RE 9-2408.

SPIKE'S MOVING and pick-up service, large and small jobs, city and country, short notice or plan ahead, occasional long distance jobs accepted. UN 4-7707.

CUSTOM CABINET MAKING
Design, craftsmanship, dependability. Choice of woods & finishes, wrought iron, glass & marble. Also Refinishing. HI-FI radio cabinets to specifications. Pictures (25% discount) & frames. Free estimate.
BERAN-ORBAN, 22 Astor Pl.
OR 4-6123. Open Mon. to Sat. 9-5.

FREE LIFE INSURANCE ANALYSIS
Get the MOST for the LEAST!
Personal and business. Fire, auto, theft, etc., insurance placed.
RENE M. SCHENKER
19 W. 44th St., N. Y. 36 MU 2-4120

FINE FURS
Fur coats of every description. Also mink stoles, jackets and capes at $ savings. Expert Remodelling and Repairing or converting your old fur coat to fur-lined cloth coat, jacket or stole.
MAX KUPERMAN
214 W. 30th St. BR 9-3733

MOVING, STORAGE, EXPERIENCED PIANO MOVERS. Profit by my 20 years experience. Call ED WENDEL, JE 6-8000 on any moving problem.

NORMA CATERERS. Now booking for Winter and Spring Affairs. Let us plan that special occasion in temple, home or office. Anywhere in metropolitan area. ES 3-9490.

BENDIX-THOR-MONITOR
Repairs and Service. Used washers bought and sold.
WASHCO — GE 4-4228

MAILING, PHOTO-OFFSET,
MULTIGRAPHING,
MIMEOGRAPHING
Custom Letter Service
39 Union Square AL 5-3160

TV SERVICE & INSTALLATION
Manhattan & Bronx only
AARON SCHNEIDERMAN
WA 3-1370 WA 8-5877

TIRED OF MAPLE? We make it mahogany. Refinishing, repairing and polishing furniture in your home. Estimates free. IN 9-6827.

CULTURED WOMAN
teaches
Self Confidence and Poise
Private. Amazing results.
NEvins 8-4160 1-7 p.m.

WANTED

BY YOUNG WOMAN. Furnished room or apartment to share in Manhattan. Reasonable rent. Box C, 17 Murray St., New York City 7.

ROOM FOR WORKING MOTHER with family willing to board her 9 month old baby. Box B, 17 Murray St., New York City 7.

HELP WANTED

COUNSELORS: Male, female, over 21. Small farm-camp, Dutchess County. Art, swimming instructor, nurse. Working couples. Waitresses age 16-18. Box K, 17 Murray St., New York City 7.

Peress story

(Continued from page 1)

For three years Mrs. Peress edited the school PTA's paper, the **Forty-Niner.** Her signed editorial in the December issue said: "Last year we were looking forward to Peace. This year we have Peace. May this Peace be lasting. May this Peace be forever."

THE DRUMS ROLL: Peace in Middle Village lasted less than a month. On Jan. 30 Major Peress appeared before McCarthy in executive session. Within a few days a neighbor came and said: "They're planning some action against you." The neighbor was unclear what was being planned or where she stood. Worried, she told Mrs. Peress: "I'll help you if you're not a communist. But if you are I can't help you. Then nothing they do would be too bad."

MAJOR PERESS (l.) AT McCARTHY HEARING
He is shown conferring with attorney Stanley Faulkner

Through February, Sen. McCarthy heaped abuse on Dr. Peress. When Mrs. Peress said hello to one neighbor, she looked about and answered: "I don't know if I should say hello to you."

When a police spy said Dr. and Mrs. Peress were communists, the drums began to roll. The **Long Island Press** headlined: "PTA ACTS TO BOOT MRS. PERESS." It was news to PTA officials. The exec. board met, issued a statement denying the story, expressing confidence in Mrs. Peress as editor.

ROCKS IN THE NIGHT: The telephone in the Peress home rang constantly. All through the night the calls came. Callers would hang up as soon as they felt they had wakened the Peress'. Sometimes men's voices would utter a stream of profanity over the phone. The Peress' learned to take the phone off the hook at night.

The children sleep upstairs. Their windows face the street. Close to midnight on Saturday, Feb. 27, three rocks shattered the storm windows in the children's room. April and Jill were unhurt but badly shaken. Mrs. Peress picked glass fragments out of their bed clothes.

BABEL: The rock-throwers scared some, gave others courage for what seemed an inevitable showdown on the following Monday March 1, at the PTA membership meeting in the school auditorium on Penelope St.

The room was jammed. PTA meetings had always been billed: "Open to the public." Women, total strangers to the school and the neighborhood, came in groups of five and ten. Men, rarities at any PTA meeting, showed up too. Main item on the agenda was a cosmetics demonstration.

The newcomers scarcely waited for the meeting's preliminaries before demanding the floor to find out why Mrs. Peress still served the PTA. They shouted down appeals for order. Some called on her to get up. Elaine Peress stood up and began to talk. She said she felt "prejudged, condemned."

BACK TO SALEM: The mutterings grew loud. She continued: "I think a terribly frightening thing is happening. McCarthyism is . . ." Her sentence was cut short. The men and women stood up and screamed that she must say nothing about McCarthy. Principal Mrs. Anna R. Bigall with difficulty restored a semblance of order. Mrs. Peress said she would use Harry Truman's definition of McCarthyism: "The corruption of truth."

That was the end. Men and women, their faces flushed, were on their feet, shaking their fists and screaming: "Take the loyalty oath!" "Thow her out!" Then almost in unison like a chant; "The oath, the oath, the oath!" Mrs. Peress stood and faced them but she could not be heard. Principal Mrs. Bigall closed the meeting. Police who had been summoned kept order as the audience filed out. Later Mrs. Peress said she felt as if she were accused of witchcraft at Salem.

"ME OR THE PTA": Then the strains tightened to a breaking point in the community. Members of the exec. board reported that their husbands had told them: "It's me or the PTA." Some husbands said they were losing business because their wives had stood up for Mrs. Peress. Members of the executive said they knew it was all wrong but they could not hold out against pressures from husband, father, son.

Last week Mrs. Peress asked for a leave of absence from her editor's job. She told the GUARDIAN that she cried then because she thought some might see in it a defeat, a retreat. Her farewell statement said in part: "I challenge anyone to cite one un-American word, one un-American thought in any editorials [in **Forty-Niner**] of three years."

HATE: Mrs. Peress in her living-room told the GUARDIAN that some in the neighborhood had shown their friendliness with a nod, a visit, an inquiry about the children. The principal noticed an unusually "soulful" look in Jill's eye and wanted to talk it over. The teachers were kind. Then she added: "But some people who were my friends turned against me." A woman some doors away who had turned countless times to Dr. and Mrs. Peress for family advice, who had sent them gifts, now took the lead against them, told neighbors that three years ago Jill Peress (she was three at the time) had said she didn't believe in God. "I called the FBI then."

On the coffee table in the Peress living room lie two albums. "These are my hate letters," she said, opening one. They were samples of her mail, almost all citing the Rosenberg case as a model of justice to Jews. This one is typical: ". . . If we could only revert to the laws of the old west, it would be a pleasure to help string you, your husband and your little rats up to the nearest pole—also leave your hides there for all the other reds to see. . . . You are no better than the Rosenbergs."

One sent a picture of Michael and Robbie Rosenberg and scrawled on it: "A reminder."

LOVE: These are samplings of Mrs. Peress' "love letters":

"As members of the Society of Friends we feel particularly responsible and ashamed that we, who profess so much, have done so little to stem the tide of violence and hate which is based upon a conception completely foreign to our basic tenet, 'God in every man.'"

"What with St. Patrick's Day coming up and then the date when James Connolly was executed—May 12—we feel really ashamed. However, Sen. McCarthy is making us write letters we never wrote to people. My heavens, McCarthy used to be an honorable name. We extend praise to the dentist and his wife and family. Signed by a family wearing the green traditionally but not too happily."

HOPE: Mrs. Peress said she wished the Senator would "make more people write like that."

Police cars patrol the quiet street all day and night. Detectives drop in to ask Mrs. Peress if everything is all right. To be on the safe side, friends take turns sleeping over at the Peress'. A blanket backs up the windows in the children's room. There has been no further violence since the window was smashed, but one night last week April woke crying and said only: "Remind Daddy to put the blanket up again." And April asked in the morning: "Can McCarthy hurt little girls?"

Events for Children

Films

AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATL. HISTORY, Central Park W. at 79th St. **The Farm,** 2 p.m., Sat., Mar. 20; **Ireland & England: Literature,** 4 p.m., Wed., Mar. 24. Recorded music played at 3:30 p.m. preceding film. Free.

BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY: Leonard Br., 81 Devoe St. **Junior Rodeo Daredevils & Wonders in the Desert,** 4 p.m., Thurs., Mar. 25. Free.

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, Park Pl & B'klyn Av. Document. films: **Chemistry,** 4:30 p.m., Tues., Mar. 23; **Dutch Way,** 3:45 p.m., Wed., Mar. 24; **Argentine,** 4:30 p.m., Thurs., Mar. 25; **Fur Trade,** 4:30 p.m., Fri., Mar. 26. SAT. FILMS: **Insect Zoo & Poultry on the Farm,** 11 a.m.; **Hawaiian Native Life,** 2 p.m.; **Fossil Story,** 4 p.m. Free.

MUSEUM OF CITY OF N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. **Wheels Across Australia & A Day at Silver Springs,** Sat., Mar. 20; **Land of the Kangaroo & Pioneer Children,** Sat., Mar. 27. Film showings at 11 a.m. & 3 p.m. Free.

N. Y. HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Central Park W at 77th St. DOCUM. FILMS: **People of the Mississippi; The Cummington Story; The Challenge,** Sat., Mar. 20; **Valley of the Tennessee; Palmour Street; Voices of the People,** Sat., Mar. 27. All films at 2 p.m. Free.

Dance & Music

ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON, Playhouse Dance Company Alwin Nikolais, director. Henry St. Playhouse, 488 Grand St. 3 p.m., Sun., Mar. 21. $1.25. OR 4-1100.

MUSIC AND DANCE OF ISRAEL, Fred Berk and Company. Tercentenary of the arrival of the first Jewish settlers in New York. B'klyn Museum, Eastern Parkway Wash. Av. Sat., Mar. 20, 3 p.m. Free. (Children under 7 not admitted.)

FUN WITH MUSIC for young people. **Jack and the Beanstalk,** with gay operetta company. Audience participation as chorus. Last in a series of five concerts. Dorothy White, mistress of ceremonies. Academy of Music, 30 Lafayette Av., B'klyn, 3 p.m., Sat., Mar. 27. $1.50. ST 3-6700.

MERRY-GO-ROUNDERS in two new story-ballets: **Tyrolean Wedding** (Austrian mountain celebration); **Forest Adventure** (capture of mountain lion); **The Goops** (pranks in younger ranks) YM-YWHA, Kaufman Auditorium, 92d St. & Lex. Av. Sun. 1:30 & 3:30 p.m. March 28. Reduced rates for blocks of 20 or more. $2-$1. Box Office: TR 6-2366.

Miscellaneous

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, Park Pl. & B'klyn Av. Sat., Mar. 27. Program: **Story Hour,** 11:30 am · Science demonst.: **Early Inventions,** 2:30 p.m.; Cultural Hist. demonst.: **In a Mexican Kitchen,** 3 p.m.; Planetarium show, 3:30 p.m.

BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY BRANCHES: Parent · Pre-School Group, films & talks. **Lessons in China Painting,** 2 p.m., Thurs., Mar. 25, Bushwich Br., 166 Siegel St.; **Talk on Art,** 2 p.m., Wed., Mar. 24, Eastern Parkway Br., E. Pkwy & Schenectady Av.; **Social Development** (talk), 2 p.m., Tues., Mar. 23, Saratoga Br., 81 Hopkinson Av.; **Terrible Two's and Trusting Three's,** 2 p.m., Tues., Mar. 23, Wash. Irving Br., 360 Irving Ave. Free.

EXHIBIT: Creative Art by Children From Many Lands. Work done by children from 27 countries who attend the United Nations Int'l School in N. Y. Museum of Modern Art, 11 W. 53d St., Northwest Gallery, 1st Fl. Weekdays 12-7. Suns. 1-7. Children 20c, adults 60c.

ASP offers $50 prizes for film story & script

The best story outline for a film on current attacks on civil liberties will receive a $50 prize in a contest being sponsored by the Film Division of the Natl. Council of Arts, Sciences & Professions. Another $50 prize will go to the final film-shooting script made from the prize-winning outline.

The movie, which the Film Division plans to produce, may be documentary, puppet, allegory, satire, historical or fantasy — 15 to 30 minutes in length. Writers may choose any aspect of the overall subject. Entries will be judged by experienced film makers, directors, editors and educators. Contest deadline is April 1, 1954. For further information write Film Contest, ASP, 35 W. 64th St., N. Y. C. 23.

THE LIFE · THE TIMES · THE MUSIC.
RIMSKY-KORSAKOV
IN SOVCOLOR
Extra "LEO TOLSTOY"
STANLEY 7th AVE. bet 42 & 41 STS.

LIMITED ENGAGEMENT
CYANAMIDE
A new play by BURT MARNIK
THE TEMPO PLAYERS
DAVENPORT THEATRE
27th St. & Lex. Wed.-Sun, 8:40
For Reservations tel. MU 4-8693

MARCH 19-21:
IT HAPPENED ON 5th AV.
Starring Victor Moore. A philosophical hobo invades a boarded-up mansion with his dog and takes in some homeless ex-GIs and their families. A zany comedy with some real content.
Mar. 26-28: CHUMP AT OXFORD
Fri., Sat., Sun. at 8:30 & 10 p.m.
Members, $1; Non-Members $1.25
CLUB CINEMA 430 6th Av. Nr. 9th St.

The Best Show In Town—"LIFT EVERY VOICE"

An evening of continuous entertainment by a great promenade of stars featuring:

PAUL ROBESON

LEON BIBB • GUY CARAWAN • CARIBE SERENADERS • BOB & LOUISE DeCORMIER • LAURA DUNCAN • HOPE FOYE • WILL GEER • JEWISH YOUNG FOLKSINGERS • ELIZABETH KNIGHT • SYLVIA KAHN • KAREN MORLEY • AL MOSS • LES PINE • PUERTO RICAN SINGERS • LATIN AMERICAN DANCERS • BILL ROBINSON • EARL ROBINSON • JOHNNY RICHARDSON • BETTY SANDERS • PETE SEEGER • MEYER WEISE • EDITH SEGAL DANCE GROUP • AL WOOD.

"To End Discrimination in Housing in Parkchester"
FRIDAY EVE.—8 P.M.
MARCH 26th
MANHATTAN CENTER
34th St. & 8th Av.
Sponsored by Bronx County American Labor Party
Tickets in advance $1.20. At door $1.50. Tickets at all ALP Clubs

JAMES IMBRIE

BRADFORD TRADITION

500 in Jersey honor Imbrie in 75th year

IN 1735 a New York editor named William Bradford and his printer, John Peter Zenger, were jailed for editorials attacking the administration of the colony under Governor Cosby. A historic court fight won their freedom and first established the principle of the free press in the New World.

On Mar. 5 in Essex House at Newark (N.J.) a still-battling Bradford descendant, N.J. Progressive Party chairman James Imbrie, was honored on his 75th birthday with a dinner followed by a civil liberties rally attended by 500 people.

Speakers included Prof. Broadus Mitchell of Rutgers; Corliss Lamont, C. B. Baldwin, Prof. H. H. Wilson of Princeton; former Judge George Pellettieri, Trenton Six attorney; I. F. Stone, Clifford T. McAvoy, Rev. Benjamin Anderson.

Asking "an end to all bickering and name-calling in the liberal ranks before it is too late," Imbrie declared for the PP that "we want to keep close to those to the right of us and those to the left of us" for the preservation of "the democracy of Lincoln and Jefferson."

At the rally more than $3,000 was contributed toward the PP's 1954 campaign in N.J.

Prevent a new Balkan "Korea"!
Rally for:
Independence, Freedom & Peace for the Greek People
on the
ANNIVERSARY
of
GREEK INDEPENDENCE DAY
Hotel Capitol, Oak Room
Fri., April 2 8:00 P.M.
Speakers: Royal W. France, Howard Fast, Chris Nicholopoulis
Entertainment Contribution 75c
Sponsors:
Council of Greek Americans, Greek Fur Workers Union Loc. 70

'Practicing Academic Freedom'
DR. HORACE B. DAVIS
also
'Report on Western Trip'
MR. HARVEY O'CONNOR
THURS., MARCH 25 — 8:30 P.M.
Fraternal Clubhouse 110 W. 48 St.
Admission $1 incl. tax
Net proceeds will go toward expenses of Dr. Davis' legal action resulting from his dismissal from the U. of Kansas City following his refusal to answer Sen. Jenner's questions.
Auspices: Emergency Civil Liberties Comm. OX 5-2863

REPORT ON ALBANY

9th year of stalling looms for fake milk price study

By Arthur Schutzer

ON Feb. 22, 1954, Gov. Dewey signed into law (Chapter 21, Laws of 1954) a measure which continued to March 1, 1955, the Temporary State Commission to Survey Agricultural Conditions. This measure has a most curious history.

Back in 1945, the then Assembly Majority Leader (now U. S. Sen.) Irving M. Ives introduced a bill to create a "temporary state commission of 17 members to study agricultural resources and conditions . . . prices received and paid . . . and the labor and technological situation of state agriculture." Ives sponsored his legislation to head off a growing public demand for investigation of the milk monopoly, which was squeezing both small farmer and consumer, piling up huge profits. The "temporary" commission was supposed to investigate the unconscionable spread between the chiseling price paid to small farmers by the milk trust and the profiteering price that same trust extracted from consumers.

"STUDY" GOES ON: In 1946, instead of filing a report, the "temporary" commission was continued for another year by a bill again introduced by Mr. Ives. Then, in each succeeding year—from 1946 right through 1953—State Sen. Austin W. Erwin (R-Geneseo), who is now Senate Majority Leader, introduced bills continuing the commission's life for another year.

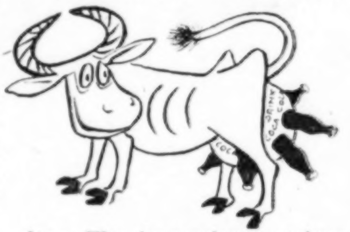
Now, in 1954, the very same Sen. Erwin has sponsored the same law which once again—for the ninth successive time—continues the "temporary" commission to "study" the agricultural situation.

NINE FAT LIVES: Not only has this "temporary" commission sat on its hands for almost a decade—but it has spent several hundred thousand dollars in patronage in its obligingly renewed legislative nine lives.

Meanwhile consumers still pay exorbitant prices for milk, and small farmers are still denied a fair price for their products by the milk monopoly. The "temporary" commission has become a well-nigh permanent device for stalling any effective inquiry into monopolistic practices.

It would appear high time to end this brazen legislative maneuver.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS: This session, the dreariest in years, is slated to end within a few days. The increasingly serious problem of unemployment has been ignored, while Albany has been playing mudpies with race-track dirt scraped off both Republican and Democratic vests. Among other pressing issues being pigeonholed are: increased state aid to N. Y. C.; a state bond issue for school construction; child care centers; civil rights; repeal of the Transit Authority Law and 15% rent increase; protection of tenants in fire-trap housing; effective liberalizing of the election law.



Even as the legislature closes up shop, it is clear that there must be a powerful public demand for a special session to attend to the list of unfinished business.

Bargain butter riots?

NO. HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

I think a little more comment is in order on the shopping riots you had in New York Washington's Birthday. I fear to think what would have happened if they gave out butter, as they did in Germany. I hesitate to think of the clawing, rioting and fighting. The crowds in Berlin would shrink to nothing in comparison.

Miriam Savage

"A RUGGED AND STARKLY POIGNANT STORY . . . RAW EMOTION AND POWER"
Bosley Crowther, N.Y. TIMES
"IT'S SOLID PICTURE MAKING"
Archer Winsten, N.Y. POST
"AROUSES SYMPATHY IN THE BEHOLDER"
Kate Cameron, DAILY NEWS

THE MOVIE CRAFTSMANSHIP IS EXCELLENT . . . SEVERE BEAUTY . . . ENORMOUS AFFECTION AND SYMPATHY . . ."
Otis Guernsey, Jr., N.Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE

"SALT OF THE EARTH"
. . . The Picture Hollywood Dared Not Make! . . .

WORLD PREMIERE
86th ST. GRANDE
East of Lexington Ave.
Doors open 11:45 A.M. • AT 9-7720
Continuous Daily

Written by Academy Award-Winner MICHAEL WILSON
Produced by PAUL JARRICO Directed by HERBERT J. BIBERMAN
Starring Mexican 'Oscar-winner' Rosaura Revueltas and Members of the Mine, Mill and Smelters Workers Union

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

A mail order service offering consumer-tested merchandise at a saving.

Easter Imported Linen Specials

- Polish white and white damask tablecloth with floral design, 63"x87" with 8 napkins ....ppd. $10
- Czech Peasant Tablecloth checkered in blue, red, yellow.
  - 51" x 51" with 4 napkins ....ppd. $4.50
  - 51" x 69" with 6 napkins ....ppd. $5.75

The Lightweight, Portable Table of 1000 Year-Round Uses!
THE ORIGINAL FOLD-A-WAY TABLE

Original All-Luminum FOLD-A-WAY TABLE

Shipped Express

(Pay co. shipping charges)

2 ft. x 5 ft. size

List Price	Guard. Price
$21.95	$16.45

USE THE FOLD-A-WAY AS:

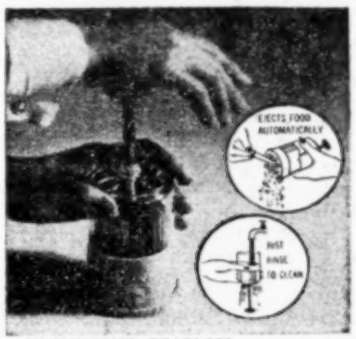
- Extra Dining Table
- Card and Game Table
- Buffet Table
- Picnic and Camping Table
- Playroom Table
- Sewing and Work Table
- Counter and Display Table

The most useful, practical all-purpose table you've ever seen . . . for kitchen, dining room, playroom . . . office, store or workshop! The Fold-A-Way weighs only 19 pounds . . . supports over 800 pounds . . . Opens easily to full-size 2'x5' top . . . folds quickly to carry like luggage, or for easy storage in car trunk or closet! Sturdily made of heavy-duty airplane aluminum . . . reinforced with steel for added strength! Order yours today . . . while they last!

STURDY MEN'S OVERNIGHT TRAVELLING BAG

Sturdily constructed. Tough mustang plastic finish. All around zipper, suedine liner, pocket in lid. Solid brass hardware. Smooth finish. Guaranteed against defects in material & workmanship. 16". Colors: Suntan or Ginger. Shipped express.

List Price	Guard. Price
$19.00	$13.20 incl. tax



SWISSHOUSE TEARLESS ONION & FOOD CHOPPER

Quick, easy spring action. Ejects chopped food automatically. Just rinse to clean............ppd. $1.98

EACH month Guardian Buying Service offers educational toys and games for varying age groups specially selected by a child education expert. The toys are geared to challenge the child, stimulate his imagination and develop a creativeness. They appeal to the child's desires to build, construct and create.

For Ages 4-7

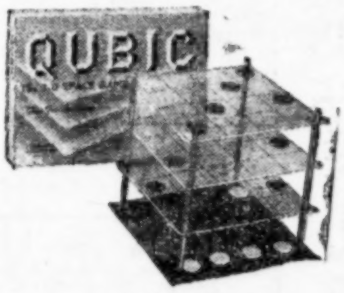
Three Lotto games to encourage word and object recognition. Two to six people may play. Played like Bingo.

ABC LOTTO .....ppd. $1.45

ZOO LOTTO .....ppd. $1.25

FARM LOTTO ....ppd. $1.25

For Ages 8 & Up



QUBIC

Tic-tac-toe on 3 dimensions. Object is to place 4 markers in a row in one of 5 possible directions. For 2-4 players. A fine family game......ppd. $2.75

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE ORDER BLANK

Quantity	Size, Color, Description	Amount
	POSTAGE	
	TOTAL	

Name ....

Address ....

....

(N. Y. C. buyers add 3% Sales Tax)

All Sales Fully Guaranteed. Money Back If Not Satisfied!

Full payment must accompany all orders. Make checks, money orders payable to GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE.

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7

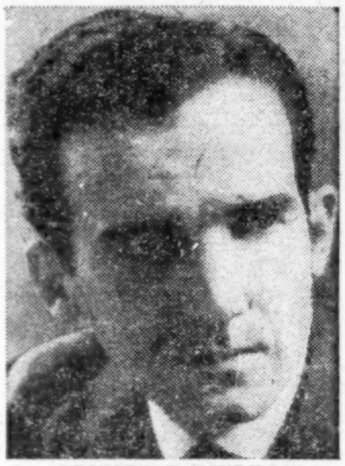
the SPECTATOR

Murrow: The screeners and the screened

ON THE EVENING of March 9, Edward R. Murrow, shining knight of TV (armor by Alcoa) lanced the leathery skin of the Senator from Wisconsin and drew dragon's blood.

Americans love a good fight and admire a brave fighter. They rallied 15 to 1 in favor of the challenger. CBS in New York City was flooded by more than 12,000 telephone calls and wires.

Washington's WTOP tallied 235 responses during the first 45 minutes after the program left the air, every one pro-Murrow. The final score was 454 for, 12 against. This in Washington, D. C.! Milwaukee's WCAN (in Joe's home state) reported "over 400 telephone calls, every one of them complimentary to the program."



EDWARD R. MURROW
Attaboy, but . . .

THE CRIES OF "ATTABOY!" may be loud, but they come late. A lamentable lack of effective protest has made it easy for the networks, over a period of years, to drop political commentators who tried to tackle issues squarely. "Controversial" persons in all departments have been fired and blacklisted by the hundreds, scripts emasculated or brutalized, forums and round-table discussions melted down to a coin with two tails and no head. Murrow, a survivor, is a member of the board of directors of CBS, the most active advocate of the political means test for television workers. That he, his network and his sponsor should have taken an unequivocal anti-McCarthy stand is a measure of the support they expected and received. The presentation was no impartial take-it-or-leave-it reporting. Murrow's editorializing was, as Jack Gould, radio-TV editor of the N. Y. **Times**, put it, "an indictment of those who wish the problems posed by the Senator's tactics and theatrics would just go away and leave them alone."

THE PRO-McCARTHY FORCES do not drop dead after one television program. The next day Jack O'Brian, radio-TV columnist of the N. Y. **Journal-American**, began his column: "Madison Av.'s hottest rumor in the wake of Ed Murrow's McCarthy smear: Murrow will resign from CBS board of directors."

Fortunately, this rumor burned itself out. Last week the ayes had it on TV. Even FCC Commissioner Robert E. Lee, handpicked for the job by Joe and his Texas trillionaries, didn't dare grant his patron saint the air time to reply to Adlai Stevenson. Lee stated: "McCarthy's my friend, but in this case I have to say, 'Look pal, it seems like a square deal to me'."

But in the next case? Suppose the law is not so clear. Or the voices not so loud. Or there are no voices at all. Lee can recall with pleasure that—even though his flagrant inexperience and his unsavory connections with the McCarthyite Facts Forum were widely publicized—not one organization, not one trade union appeared at the Senate hearing to protest his nomination to the FCC. And the score in the Senate was 80 to 1 for his appointment.

AMERICANS ARE TOO PRONE to wait for a highly dramatized contest before they swing into action. This sporting-event psychology overestimated the effect of a Louis-Schmeling bout on Hitler's march to power. The spectacle of Murrow exposing a Mumble-Jumble Joe is gratifying, but political battles are not won by shouting, "Go, man, go!" Murrow, okay; but the people, yes!

While we remain in the grandstands we must be grateful to the man who cried: "Look! The emperor has no clothes!" But if we had been in the arena too, by this time we could be asking: "What emperor?"

CHICAGOANS
Phone HArrison 7-5497
LOU BLUMBERG
all forms of
INSURANCE
166 W. Jackson Blvd.

DETROIT
Buy With Confidence
from
SID ROSEN
HAYES JEWFLRY
15257 Houston at Kelly Rd.
Detroit, Mich. VE 9-6960

RESORTS

Camp Midvale
Midvale, N. J. TErhune 5-2160
Cooperative, interracial camp
OPEN EVERY WEEK-END
SATURDAY, MARCH 27:
1st Annual Dance of the Metropolitan Recreation Assn.
Entertainment - Activities
Make your reservations now

JACK SCHWARTZ'S
ALLABEN HOTEL
in LAKEWOOD
FREE ICE SKATING FOR OUR GUESTS ON OUR OWN ARTIFICIAL RINK.
501 Monmouth Av., Lakewood, N. J. LAkewood 6-0819 - 1222

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!